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Art. 1.—EDMOND WARRE.

Life of Edmond Warre, Headmaster and Provost of Eton College. By C. R. L. Fletcher. Murray, 1922.

A RECENT discussion in the newspapers about the internal economy of school boarding-houses has shown a far from pleasant attitude of the parental mind toward the average schoolmaster; and we all know that in novels and on the stage he is invariably a butt. Yet we may believe that this profession in England is more devoted and more efficient than in any other country. Nevertheless even an Eton public may still be heard to quote Keate's birchings or Hawtrey's affectations as typical of the men. Not till we get biographies or special histories can we correct these crude impressions, finding that Keate, though he failed to flog his way to peace, had a tender heart and was loved at last, or that Hawtrey, for all his rings and frills, was a brave champion of wholesome changes and wider culture. All the more, therefore, do we welcome the present demand for biographies, though indeed in the case of Edmond Warre there was no need for any such explanation.

Two periods only we may perhaps pick out in his career when he might have been misconstrued. Mr Fletcher admits that, as an Assistant Master, he was felt by some juniors to be too intent on his own lines of action; for, having the ear of Dr Hornby without himself bearing the responsibility, he seemed to ride somewhat roughly over contrary ideals, while others thought his influence was thrown too heavily in the scale of

Vol. 238.—No. 472.

58157

athletics; certain it is that some of those Masters who afterwards proved their claim to consideration, did fear his candidature for the Headmastership. There was then one House which was undoubtedly among the best in tone and intellectual interest, without any neglect of outdoor activities, and some of our most valuable teachers seemed to hold that this influence might even excuse breaches of school rules. Dr Hornby, one of the best of scholars and the most charming of men, feared the weakening in others of a discipline which he could not always maintain in the School himself; and when he closed this house in 1876 Warre no doubt approved his action as for the good of the School. This added to the uneasiness felt by some about the intellectual prospects of the coming reign, so that a few Masters for this reason and many Collegers, from a narrow clannish prejudice, were not without a lurking fear of Warre's accession, though, as later history seems to prove, there was no one definitely preferable. Mr Fletcher quotes even one of these malcontents as welcoming the new régime 'like a wind from the sea,' robust, cheerful, encouraging, full of consideration, kindness, and refreshment. He found the comfort of working with some one behind him also working with all his might. For the new Headmaster always set all his athleticism below the intellectual side of his duties, and tried to keep it subordinate in the interest of the boys. More than once he schemed for reviving the debates of the Eton Society and requiring a higher standard for membership. True, an astute president might veil immobility by apparent assent, yet it was only because of Warre's respect for liberty that things remained in that quarter much as they were.

I suppose some partisan feeling of this kind to have caused the strange misconception which discolours a book called 'The Oppidan' (Chatto & Windus, 1922), wherein a clever writer, Mr Shane Leslie, would describe the Eton of his day (1899-1902). A curious misreading of the character of his Headmaster goes far to discount the author's judgment of others who figure in that lurid scene. It is a pity, for with all his grave faults of taste, he has a real love of good things, some power of pen, and much evidence of industry. Chapter and verse or schoolboy legend may possibly be quoted for each

deplorable incident, but gathering the scandals of tradition into one experience may produce a grotesque picture, and to show up individuals under slightly disguised names is hardly playing the game. To attack a bad Master or even a bad boy publicly and directly is fair enough if necessary, however distasteful; and no doubt there has been overmuch toleration at Eton for inefficient disciplinarians in Division or House. But to disguise a name is a mean defence, which one cannot resent without fitting a cap. Warre seems to have given offence when meeting the 'Oppidan' and a friend in the playing-fields because he spoke kindly to the latter and ignored the former. The cause need not have been habitual neglect of 'saps.' It may have been insight into character. Had he known the writer's real love of all natural beauty and of Eton chapel with the College buildings, the river and the meadows round, there would have been no lack of greeting.

The other period which may need, not explanation, but all the sympathy and tender pity with which the biographer so gently touches on it, is the long failure of health which gave a somewhat warped impression to those who served Warre only toward the end of his reign. He never was quite the same man after 1896. He had then been Headmaster for twelve years, and he had cruelly tried himself by overwork. It is possible to be a racing oarsman and live leisurely afterwards to a good old age; or one may for years do intellectual work on five or even four hours' sleep; but to combine both efforts requires more than human strength. All that man could do Warre did. Yet when, seven years after his illness, there came the terrible blow of the fire, it found him defenceless. And that catastrophe was not his fault either. Mr Fletcher notes his warning to House Masters in 1889 and 1890. Perhaps he did not see his orders carried out, though it was just the work he would have delighted in. These later years shook the joy and confidence till then almost universal in his reign; and the still sadder time which closed the Provostship and the life tended even more to overlay our memory of the prime with distress and humiliation.

But, before we go further into facts, it is high time to speak of the book. In this biography we have a quite

admirable study of a life of high interest and importance, It is carried out with untiring industry and meticulous care, adorned nevertheless by humour, style, scholarship, and sympathy such as are rarely met with in combination. I believe the closest scrutiny has discovered a wrong accent, or it may be two; yet hours were spent in overhauling them by the most learned doctors of Oxford. Did not Bishop Stubbs see letters and accents in proofs uncurl themselves and shift even after revision? In one of the notes is a word one might wish omitted; in another a sentence must be read with a future verb for a present. The 'Emperor of Germany' should be the German Emperor (p. 158). Beyond this the writer seems impeccable. It has been said that the pedigree lingers on the threshold, but surely thus much is needed for understanding the man; and it seems an excessive humility which relegates to the notes so much information and so many good stories which would be quite fitly and more pleasantly read in the text.

Here and there an old Etonian might add another word of explanation. Cookesley's simile (p. 14) would be helped if it were noted that the 'Cockloft' was entered by stairs which emerged in the middle of the room. It was really a loft; and the poet's head, heralded by the sound of his feet on the stairs, rose slowly from the horizon of the floor. Warre claimed that the 'chape' (p. 4) in his gryphon's mouth was that of the French King John's sword-sheath, which his ancestor produced to prove his capture of the King at Poitiers, as the Pelham did his broken belt, and the Vane a borrowed gauntlet. On p. 79 the patronage of Madvig and Goodwin was not Warre's *peculium* so much as a borrowing from Dr Hornby. It is, however, true that among others a future patriot-poet-ambassador did suffer therefrom, and unintentionally so resented it as sorely to wound Warre. Till then I never knew how close to his religion lay his schoolwork with the boys. Compare with this what Archdeacon James says (p. 67) of the acute distress caused him by dishonest work in pupil-room. If I were a sound authority, I would question the censure (p. 119) on Warre as accountant. It was he who prescribed to me, when I began housekeeping, a very elaborate and efficacious form of entries on portentous

sheets from which I still suffer. It would be absurd to suppose that Warre did not add up his own similar columns and bring out a successful balance.

To a friend who says that he gets from the book no picture of the man, I answer that the photographs are well chosen for giving the impression of that square stalwart figure, while the text reminds us of the great warm hand's cordial clasp, the heavy foot's firm stance, and the noble honest presence which well fulfilled the promise of the lovely George Richmond drawing of his youth. Really he was not oppressively tall for his square and solid frame, yet as 'big as a house' is a phrase written of him, not unjustly, because his was so impressive a personality, whether he met you cheery and alert in Agar's Plough or came into chapel with the procession, bearing on bowed shoulders the solemn weight of his responsibilities. Page 120 might have done well to rail even more angrily at the foolish plague of written impositions; other devices have failed. Drill brings the culprits into too close acquaintance; Dr Lyttelton tried left-hand writing; but how could you be sure it was not bad right-hand work? Learning by heart is of too unequal incidence. Simple sums or perfect writing on double lines are a better solution, if quite necessary. Warre reported to me Dr Walker's words (p. 131) as 'Warre, I did not think you were such a beast!' Page 158 attributes to Foster Cunliffe the merit of having nearly unseated Kaiser Wilhelm. There is also a tradition of another Cunliffe, a clumsy boy who was rather a butt; a cartridge had been left accidentally in his rifle, not slipped in on the field; but Mr Fletcher is sure to be right. In the account of the great flood of 1894 (p. 152) the disappearance of 'Rushes' is not noticed. The Laureate's 'Round the rushes and home again' is an obscure line to the present generation; that famous water-mark deserved an elegy from so excellent a wet-bob.

To leave the book once more for the life—as there were two occasions which seemed to need some explanation, so there were two when the true Warre seemed most on his mettle. One was the wonderful time-table and organisation of the school-work made out by him alone on his accession to the Headmastership. Almost

incredible was the difficulty of interweaving the different Divisions giving each its room and its due amount of time, so as to temper the numbers of every set to the requirements of their subject and the supply of Masters. The other occasion was the preparation for the Jubilee. The enthusiasm of the School was then strangely infectious. Never before or after was such unanimity. From even the keenest Lords match a large fraction of the School is absent. Here, in Playing Fields, was the whole School, Masters and boys, singing and moving together with the eager precision of oars in an Eight and entirely under the Head's sole sway. At the second Jubilee the novelty was dulled; there was some boredom, more duty and less enjoyment. The first was unforgettable. That both these occasions were feats of organisation shows the main qualities of the man. The time-table really did not hold good for very long. As with the projected series of Eton books, circumstances were too strong for it. Symmetry, Order, Drill were triumphant for a passing show but not flexible enough to last. They tempted outsiders to think them Warre's chief excellence, whereas his outshining virtues were his sweetness and tenderness of heart, his noble humanity, integrity, simplicity, piety.

His Confirmation addresses did not get all the attention they deserved; they were scholarly but lacked unction; they explained some theological terms and dwelt on his favourite doctrine of the salvation of Societies by 'the Remnant' (Isaiah's doctrine and Aristotle's) 'the *ὑπόμεινον ὑγιές τι*.' This with Liberty and 'to know your place and to keep it' deserved and won admission into most of his sermons. There was good stuff, careful and instructive, in them; but of course, if Masters did not attend, boys would take the cue of indifference.

In more serious moral reforms much was wanted when he took the reins; and this was perhaps the point which most exercised those who had deprecated his appointment. Things had been going downhill; there were some who could not, others who would not, look into so difficult and painful a trouble. Men whose vigorous, open-air, manly boyhood had left them innocent and ignorant, almost resented attempts to see below

the surface. Much improvement, at all events, was made by the bracing effect of Warre's increase of work and enforcement of industry, by more activity and keenness in games, and by the influence of his own stalwart manliness and honour. Yet no one who knows much of the seamy side of school life can doubt the possible deceptiveness of a cheerful surface. If Arnold suspected the devil in every secluded group of boys, he might have to confess himself wrong nowadays, and grateful may we be for any such raising of the standards, but it ought not to blind us to the constant need of help and warning for many who tempt or are tempted, and of vigilance, however distressing. This is made easier too by the increased friendliness of boys and Masters and their mixing so much more freely than in the days of buckram—a great deal of which was Warre's doing. Let us be thankful but not rest.

It was his taking over the coaching of the Eight that made such athletic intercourse fashionable. Nature, literature, music, or art had attracted some other Masters, friendly with their boys. In each case there was a danger. For the latter a fear of sentimentality and favouritism; for the athletes a loss of independence and initiative. The improvement of rowing is a common gain, and so is the hardening and regularising of outdoor exercise; but of course it makes many think that amusements are the real business of life—an idea which certainly does prevail very widely among the English gentry, from whom it has spread downwards to the football and cinema crowds, till it becomes a real danger to our national life. The joy and fun of a game risk being swamped by the competitive spirit; when mere games flag, matches must be made to lure the players; soon the match is hardly enough unless there is a Cup or Colours or something to be won. Three pages of the 'Times' are now given where one used to be sufficient; and a fictitious interest fills apparently all the spare time of spectators day after day. The struggle of thirty good men draws the gate-money of 30,000 idlers. Preparatory schools, in colours, prizes, and publicity, ape their elders, who, dissatisfied with their own borders, travel the country for boxing, fives, racquets, and other wider competitions, announced in

the morning and photographed in the evening press. Fresh expenses are incurred; and one fears a growing burthen of miniature Lords and Bisleys, Stamford Bridges and International Olympias. There is need of moderation. Can we secure the improvement of the sport without the evils of the competition? These Warre abominated. He refused to visit even Henley when it became a Society function, though it was partly his example, following on the coaching at Harrow, that had partly set it going. Anyway, he resolutely set his face against record-breaking, pot-hunting, and the like, insisting always that duty must come first (p. 281).

Not less did he value that Palladium of Eton, the Tutorial System. He hated inroads on the Classics, which the times demanded. In vain he and we pleaded that the great Endowed Schools should remain as fortresses of the Humanities, and could indeed afford to set the example. It would have been vastly unpopular; numbers would have fallen seriously; and that Warre would never have endured. The prosperity of Eton was the crown of his magnificent ideal; and he was, as Mr Fletcher points out, somewhat timorous of parents and public opinion. Few disputants for or against Classical Education see how the tutorial system depends on it. Unless there is one general and principal staple of a boy's work, which he can do with his own tutor, there cannot be the constant intercourse in and out of pupil-room on which complete familiarity (not necessarily friendship) depends. The age for specialising should be largely ruled by this need. To put a young boy to fresh subjects for which he must go to different Masters must seriously impoverish the phrase 'my tutor.' Those who think the tutorial relation one of the foundation stones of Eton are naturally jealous for it.

Warre as a builder is treated in the book with tempered indulgence. The moulded bricks of the Music School are justly commended by the writer, though sadly defaced by the boys. Nothing, however, is said of the terrible new Racquet Courts, which had at once to be planted out. Blomfield's Lower Chapel and 'Queen's Schools' really compare ill with Woodyer's 'New Schools,' which, but for the skimping of material, would be quite good. Nor can the Houses of Common Lane be

excused by reproaching the Memorial Buildings. That these last are too big for the site comes of Warre's requirements, but it was right to mark their date by the later style of Wren over against the early Wren of Upper School. It is the ornament that justly provokes the critic. At all events the brick is not 'grey' (p. 147), but a subdued red, which should please one who censures (p. 143) the 'glare of the new (red) brickwork' of Calcott's houses and the 'yellow stone with a harsh (red) brick surface' of Queen's Schools. A final protest must also be allowed against some of the work approved in the Provost's Lodge. It was cruel to disclose the 'octagonal turret of the Ostiarius,' the loveliest bit of brickwork in College, only to make it a kitchen-lift with passage to a dining-room. Of course fresh rooms were absorbed into the Lodge. By the constant increase of such demands it has come about that what appears to have been designed for some thirty-six lodgings is now insufficient for three families, not counting the Vice-Provost's house, which is of later date. Not till 1893, says our biographer, was Savile House definitely saved by the Headmaster's move into Cloisters. He was probably right in thinking that it took him too far away from the School. But he did something to make himself accessible to boys there; and his successors have increased this policy, till at present friends and Divisions can come and go without shyness where an uninvited Assistant Master was once thought intrusive. This rescue of Savile House might well have tempted a longer note on the foiled attack of 1886. It is a mercy always to be remembered, how Lord Grimthorpe's letter professing to speak for Old Etonians advocated its destruction, and was slyly printed by the 'Times' next a petition for preservation signed by Lord Salisbury, Gladstone, Lord Rosebery, A. J. Balfour, and some twenty other notable Eton names.

But, if Warre was not happy as a builder, he did at least deserve success for his most far-seeing and patriotic effort in the School of Mechanics. He began it too abruptly on too large a scale. A carpenter's shop, well started and allowed gradual growth, would have been less expensive and probably more effective than the fine plant of machinery by which he hoped to prepare boys for colonial activity. Nothing else in him showed so

clearly an idealist's far sight into the future, yet it met discouraging and unmerited failure. Generally his ideals were limited to present requirements. Here he launched out for the needs of a then unseen and even now barely realised want. The School Office, on the contrary, meeting an immediate difficulty, took root and grew till we all wonder how the School could possibly have been managed without it. The blessing of it can only be fully appreciated by those who can remember a time when every 'excuse' had to be hunted down by a breakfastless boy in dark and devious pantries, and every request for 'leave' required a written answer from the Head Master's house. The Eton Mission was another noble ideal which has less completely though very finely carried on its aims. A blessing to the neglected parish of Saint Mary of Eton, Hackney Wick, it did not really grip our boys and it seemed overbuilt, but Bodley's most beautiful church redeems all the other Eton buildings of that time.

It was a noble bit of *μεγαλοψυχία* and a key to character, for Warre was great in soul as in body. He would have everything big. He found Eton great but insecure. He left it greater, and it still remains so. Yet bigness has its penalties;

'Urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat omnes
Infra se positos.'

This was not true of him at school with his Masters or his boys—far from it—nor yet with his distinguished sons at home; but some few were overshadowed by the self-assertion of so strong a personality. In such masterful natures one may sometimes trace almost a kind of obtuseness which may use rather than enter into or understand individual services or dispositions. When, in 1886, Warre was ordered abroad, his school-work passed to a poet-scholar of more exquisite fibre, and it nearly broke him down. He never spoke, and Warre never knew, nor did it occur to him to ask. In any one else this would have seemed ungenerous; it really was the limitation of a self-centred intentness on the business in hand. No quality in him was deeper seated than generosity, not merely that of giving but the inbred nobility of the gentleman. It does not in every one go with piety; but to see Warre of an evening in cap and

gown—not academic but of the smoking-room—sit down to his daily Greek Testament made one feel how nearly manliness is allied to religion. He had withal that ‘almost uncanny’ comprehension of lower animals on which Mr Fletcher very happily dwells. But it was not always so with men and women. What came easy to him must be easy to them; birds and beasts were different.

In his country life he was like Walter Scott; and guests at Baron’s Down must needs recall some of the best chapters of Lockhart as they watched him with rustics or in the fields. Yet, oddly enough, with this robust outdoor life, there was an ominous touch of nervousness about health. If his boys were ill at school, he worried their dame; and in the photograph (p. 112) you see the muffetees which, with the ‘woolly bear’ and the rug over the knees in the study, were in general use. After the farming, his care for the garden was directed by his wish to introduce boys to botany, and to help a son in the Schools at Oxford. Mr Fletcher seems hardly to do justice to the successes at Baron’s Down and Eton and the exotics and rockwork of Finchamstead.

That such a Headmastership should have been prolonged after the bloom of it had passed, that so vigorous a character should have lingered into the shadow of disability, is too piteous for words. If he had retired from Eton earlier, if after his seventieth year he had not been tempted back to the Provostship—how vain are our regrets, now too late! Some measure of consolation is such a book as this by such a writer. It sets Warre again before us in his prime, and teaches a new generation what splendid efforts, what generous characters, have gone to the building of their School. We thank Mr Fletcher for doing what no one else could have done, and for giving us not only the ‘*veluti descripta tabella Vita senis*,’ but also the portraits. It is a book to read with pleasure for its careful research and literary merits as well as the humour of it and the Eton stories. To Etonians it will be useful, dear and true; to our countrymen an inspiring picture of, not the greatest of all schoolmasters, but certainly one of the great Englishmen of his generation.

H. E. LUXMOORE.

Art. 2.—THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS.

1. *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*. Edited by H. W. V. Temperley. Froude. Vols. III-V. 1920-21.
2. *What Really Happened at Paris*. Edited by E. M. House and C. Seymour. Hodder & Stoughton. 1921.
3. *La Paix*. Par André Tardieu. Paris: Payot, 1921.
4. *La Question Adriatique*. Par 'Adriaticus.' Paris: Roustan, 1920.
5. *Journal of the British Institute of International Affairs*. Vol. I, Nos 1 and 2. 1922.

THE great history of the Peace Conference, edited by Major Temperley under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs, is now nearing completion. The fourth and fifth volumes discuss exhaustively the Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian treaties, together with cognate matters such as the condition of the successor-states (except Poland) and their guarantees for the toleration of racial and religious minorities. We still await a sixth volume, which will of course deal with the Treaty of Sèvres, and presumably will also pay some attention to the problems of Poland and the new Baltic States. It is to be hoped that this volume will appear quickly, as the public is at present particularly in need of light on the Turkish question. In his prefaces to the fourth and fifth volumes, the editor again reminds us that the History owes its existence to the public spirit of an American financier, Mr T. W. Lamont, sometime Economic Adviser to the American Peace Commission. Mr Lamont may rest assured that historians and students of politics in this country are profoundly grateful to him. He has every right to be proud of his foster child. The History, taken as a whole, reaches a high level of scholarship and impartiality; and it has done more than any other book about the Conference to kill misunderstanding and misrepresentations on both sides of the Atlantic. We are sorry that Major Temperley is unable to couple with the name of Mr Lamont that of any Englishman or English learned institution. The book has been written by Americans and Englishmen conjointly; and it would have been only fitting that the financial responsibility should be divided between the

two nations. Possibly we may yet discover, when the sixth volume appears, that the balance has been redressed in our favour.

The editorial foreword to the fifth volume is a reasoned defence of the principles which have been followed from the outset in relating the events of the Peace Conference. The History, in spite of its title, deals with many other matters besides the Conference. It looks before and after. In a general way it traces the main modifications of the peace settlement up to the spring of 1921. It also contains some excellent chapters which relate to the war, and to the period before the war. Indeed, one of the outstanding contributions to the fourth volume is Mr Namier's account of the downfall of the Hapsburgs, beginning with a masterly analysis of the political situation which was created in the Dual Monarchy by the *Ausgleich* of 1867. Still the Conference and its decisions form the main subject of the work, and it is in relation to the Conference that the method of the History has been chiefly criticised.

There have been complaints that the first two volumes laid undue emphasis upon the activities of the underworld of experts, as though the findings of committees and commissions had been infinitely more important than considerations of high policy and the idiosyncrasies of the principal negotiators. This criticism is unfair. Experts were in fact responsible for most of the provisions of all the treaties, even where the subjects in hand were relatively simple; and any methodical commentary on the treaty must in consequence be very largely an exposition of the views held by financiers, economists, and jurists, about questions on which a layman is rarely competent to express any views whatever. No one denies that the remaining one per cent. (or less) of the peace-terms, which were seriously considered by the Ten, the Four, or the Five, were often of capital importance; but it is a serious though a very common error to represent the business of the Conference as simply a series of negotiations between a handful of plenipotentiaries. As a distinguished American economist puts it: 'The Peace Conference has been over dramatised. Interpretation of it in terms of tactics and strategy and dramatic incidents is superficial.' If the debates in the

Council of Four sometimes proved to be fraught with momentous consequences, it was because each member of the conclave stood for national traditions, for national claims, for a national point of view, which carried far more weight than his own eloquence or mother-wit or personal prejudices.

But in fact we are not too well informed about the debates of the Four and of their successors who managed the later stages of the peace negotiations. And this is the main justification which Major Temperley has given for the method of the History. He is so far from assuming the Peace Conference to have been entirely or even mainly a dialectical tournament among the experts, that he is almost prepared to go to the opposite extreme. 'The Peace Conference,' he says, 'was undoubtedly in the main the work of four or perhaps very often three men. In not a few important decisions, as, for instance, Reparation, Compulsory Military Service, and Poland, it is well known that the solutions adopted were directly due to the influence of one or other of these commanding personalities' (IV, p. v). Here, we confess, Major Temperley appears to overstate his point. Formally the Four or the Three made themselves responsible, not 'in the main,' but consistently and invariably, for every clause in those treaties which were concluded during their stay in Paris. In practice, however, they personally decided a very limited number of questions by means of confidential debates which frequently ended in a compromise; and even these debates were conducted with the help of experts, or were decided by a rough comparison of the material and moral forces to which the contending forces could appeal outside the Conference. We agree with Major Temperley that the truly omniscient historian, in writing of any question thus decided, would explain the decision by analysing exhaustively the arguments and the other considerations by which the Four were influenced. We also agree that, for the historian as he is at present situated, with at the best a piecemeal and hearsay knowledge of these Olympian logomachies, there is no alternative but to pursue a second-best method. He must, when possible, take the recommendations of the experts as his starting-point; he must observe in the second place how far the

ultimate text of the treaty deviated from the recommendations; and, thirdly, he must be cautious even to the point of agnosticism about the current explanations of these discrepancies between the views of the experts and those of the responsible statesmen. Unfortunately there are questions, by no means unimportant, on which no experts were formally consulted; there are others on which the experts never agreed among themselves. In such cases even Mr Temperley and his collaborators are obliged to form some opinion about the motives of the 'Four.'

A volume entitled 'What Really Happened at Paris' naturally excites the hope that we may glean from it some knowledge of the kind that Mr Temperley believes to be unobtainable. But the contributors to this volume, with the sole exception of Colonel House, did not belong to the inmost circles of the Conference; and they write with an object which is considerably more modest than their title would suggest. They are specialists explaining to an American audience the exact force and significance of particular sections of the treaty. They define in each case the problem which had to be solved; they explain the reasons of justice or policy which suggested the solution; sometimes, with great modesty and restraint, they venture on a criticism. They were experts at Paris, but they are now private citizens. They warmly defend the conduct of President Wilson, but they do so from honest conviction. They represent a point of view which is often less official than that of the History, and is always strictly American. It is not uninteresting to collect their opinions about the relations of the Four with the experts, and of the decisions of the Four to the findings of the commissions.

Of the Four as individuals they have little to say that is new. We are told that no one was ever more ready than Mr Wilson to consult the experts and to give them due credit for their suggestions; but that he wore himself out by attending in person to business which ought to have been delegated, simply because he had not learnt how to work by proxy. As to M. Clemenceau, there is an interesting difference of opinion between Colonel House—who describes him as inspiring the affection of

many and the admiration of all—and a less intimate observer who was principally impressed by the ‘cynical wisdom,’ the ‘bored tolerance,’ the ‘arid humour,’ and the ‘biting sarcasm’ of the President of the Conference when dealing with the delegates of the new nationalities.

The chief interest, however, of the American writers is not to dissect personal idiosyncrasies. They are anxious to show that the relations between the Four were cordial; that there was never any question of one of them ‘hypnotising’ or ‘duping’ his colleagues; and that the pictures which have been drawn of Mr Wilson as a good man led astray or overborne by M. Clemenceau or Mr Lloyd George are quite beside the mark. If Mr Wilson was defeated in his original purpose, he was defeated by the difficulties of the situation, and not by the wiles of European statesmen.

More important is the general attitude of the American writers towards the Four as a collective body. One delegate, who was specially connected with the problem of the partitioning of Austria-Hungary, goes out of his way to state that the recommendations of the Boundary Commissions were accepted by the Four with only a few amendments which ‘seemed more important at the moment, and to the members of the commission, than they will to the historian.’ This statement naturally does not cover the question of South Tirol, which was submitted to no commission and was settled in a way that some of the American delegates disliked. The Brenner position is evidently one of the cases, if not the chief case, to which another contributor, Mr Clive Day, refers in characterising the usual procedure of the Four:

‘Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando were bound by considerations of home politics to fight for certain terms of settlement which they had given their peoples reason to expect. Wilson was bound to fight for terms conforming to the principles which he had published. Agreement was possible only by way of compromise. Compromise was possible only as each individual became convinced that he was getting the most he could, and that what he got was better than the nothing which would ensue if he declined altogether to agree.’

Mr Day concludes that, under these conditions, secret conferences were justified and indeed imperative:

'An attempt to realise at this time the ideal of "open covenants openly arrived at" might readily have started another war, and would certainly have delayed interminably the agreement on terms of peace' (p. 32).

He avoids the two difficult questions whether the European plenipotentiaries, in following this course of action, were really loyal to the Fourteen Points and the other bases of the peace preliminaries; and whether Mr Wilson was justified in assenting to any compromise with these fundamentals. Several of his colleagues repudiate with indignation the theory that Mr Wilson ever allowed himself to be dislodged from his original platform of principles. There is, however, an anecdote in this volume which is given at first hand, and which suggests that in at least one instance the theory holds good. Mr Wilson, after he had been converted, by a certain famous memorandum of General Smuts,* to the view that pensions might legitimately be included in the Reparations Bill, had to face the unanimous opinion of his legal advisers that 'all the logic' was against the memorandum. He made the reply: 'I don't give a damn for logic. I am going to include pensions.' In conceding the Brenner frontier to Italy Mr Wilson had a better case; it seemed to be a choice between doing an injustice to a relatively small body of Austrian-Germans in South Tirol and a relatively large body of Yugo-Slavs on the Adriatic littoral. The Germans were sacrificed to save the Slavs. It was one of those instances in which, as Colonel House remarks, there was no possibility of an ideally just solution; whatever was decided, the seeds of another war would be sown. Colonel House is convinced that things went better at Paris when Mr Wilson was present than they did after his final departure. It seems to be the Adriatic negotiations and the final settlement of the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier which move Colonel House to this conclusion.† But he is not

* Now published in 'The Peace History,' vol. v, p. 372, and referred to adversely by Mr Keynes in his 'Revision of the Treaty.'

† America's views about the Adriatic are well known. But why Colonel House and his colleagues should be so distressed about Bulgaria it is difficult to see. The salients which were lopped off from Bulgaria and presented to Serbia were comparatively small. But the transference diminished the danger—which had proved very real in Serbia's defensive

altogether happy about the golden period of the Conference. He suggests that the secret meetings of the Four were objectionable after a certain stage:

'It may be entirely proper to have conferences in groups of two or more, in which no one but those vitally interested may appear; but when the meetings begin to be official and take on an aspect of final decision, then the public should be given the text of the entire discussion. In this way, and in this way alone, may the public of every country know and fairly assess the motives of each participant, and bring to bear, if need be, the power of public opinion' (p. 436).

The lightest word of so cautious and so moderate a critic as Colonel House deserves to be attentively considered; and in this case the careful reader is bound to ask himself whether anything more is intended than a general remark about the inevitable tendencies of secret negotiations. Has Colonel House a suspicion of illicit bargains being struck, of mutual concessions between Great Powers at the expense of innocent third parties? He does not explain himself, and we naturally turn for information to other American witnesses.

Among the contributors to Major Temperley's fourth volume is Prof. Coolidge (of Harvard), who was an American commissioner in Central Europe during the early days of the Conference, but afterwards took part in the preparation of the Minorities Treaties at Paris. His remarks on the general character of the Austrian treaty constitute a severer criticism of the European Allies than we find in any part of the volume 'What Really Happened at Paris':

'The Conference strove to act according to justice, but it was a justice that had to take many elements into consideration. Although the claims of self-determination, which we may assume as almost coinciding with those of nationality, were to remain the basis of the decisions of the tribunal, it was only when those claims were unfavourable to German-Austria that they were certain to be decisive. When they

operations against the Central Powers—of an unexpected attack upon the Belgrade-Salonica railway. The case for Serbia was at least as strong as the Italian claim for the Brenner line, which America approved; and the concession to Serbia had the effect of silencing more unreasonable claims elsewhere—an advantage which was not secured by Mr Wilson's concession to Italy.

were on the side of the Austrians, other considerations came into account. . . . Under these circumstances, one need not be surprised if the Austrians have since regarded the Fourteen Points, and especially the principle of self-determination, as a mockery and a sham which merely served to lure them to their ruin.'

He adds that the Austrian impression is not altogether just, since the principle of self-determination served to protect them against even more extreme claims, on the part of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs, than were actually allowed, and also served to give them, in theory at least, the ownership of West Hungary. But he is certain that, on the whole, the scales were weighted against the Austrians, who, he remarks, were in this respect treated 'like the Germans before them and the Bulgarians after them' ('History,' iv, pp. 475-6).

While Prof. Coolidge deplores the partiality of the principal European Allies, other American critics are more impressed by what they consider to be evidence of selfish and materialistic ambitions. Mr Bowman, the Chief Territorial Adviser of the American Peace Commission, leans obviously to the view that Great Britain never neglects to push her trade. He and his fellow-expert, Mr Westermann, hold that the question of Constantinople has been settled very advantageously for British interests :

'In the reconstruction of commerce in the Constantinople region, and in the revival of shipping facilities, Great Britain stands ready to play not merely the principal, but a wholly dominating part. To her statesmen it would be wholly unthinkable that, with these material advantages in her hands, her diplomacy should fail to give her such a measure of control in so vital an outlet as the Bosphorus, as not to enable her to develop there a great trading realm, possibly second only to that which she has established in India' ('What Happened,' pp. 152-3).

Mr Bowman even thinks that Mr Lloyd George insisted on making Danzig a Free City because he hoped that, with the help of a British High Commissioner in Danzig, Poland would easily be made a preserve for English capitalists and concession hunters. We are glad to observe that this far-fetched hypothesis is not supported

by Mr Lord, who was the chief American expert on Poland. But we mention it as an extreme instance of the 'economic interpretations' of British policy to which American critics are so much inclined. Mr Westermann is on firmer ground when he regrets 'the struggle among the Allied Powers for equality or priority of opportunity in the commercial exploitation of the Turkish Empire.' It may be doubted whether the failure of his pet project of a Greater Armenia has been such a disaster as he asks us to believe. But the story of the secret agreements, as he gives it, is not pleasant reading; and most readers will sympathise with his criticism of the French claim to Cilicia and the Greek claim to Smyrna. He is, however, disposed to admit that France has an equitable interest in Syria, and Great Britain in Mesopotamia. As for Italy's Adriatic claims, the American view is pretty clearly indicated in Mr Wilson's Note of Feb. 10, 1920, to the French and British Governments ('Quest. Adriat.', pp. 123-9). But it is still more bluntly expressed by Major Douglas Johnson, who insists that what Italy desired was not so much naval security as a triple bridgehead to facilitate intervention and expansion in the Balkans. In the opinion of this expert, the Treaty of Rapallo, so generally praised as a sensible compromise, was forced on a reluctant Yugo-Slavia by French and British pressure. The best he can say of this treaty is that its terms would have been even more unjust but for the firm stand which Mr Wilson had made on certain points ('What Happened,' pp. 138-9). This is not the place for a reasoned discussion of such charges against the latest phases of the peace settlement. But in this country, at all events, there are few thinking men who would not welcome the re-entry of America into the Councils of the Allies. At Paris America saved the Allies from some serious mistakes, and incidentally was disabused of some deep-rooted prejudices against their political habits and traditions. It is not too much to hope that the same advantages might be again secured by a new partnership in solving the problems which Paris created or ignored.

Some of the American criticisms which we have noticed bear upon the three treaties with Austria,

Hungary, and Bulgaria—the special subject-matter of the new volume in the History of the Peace Conference. It is easy to collect from the pages of the History the main lines of the official apology for the more debatable features of these treaties; for, although the History is not in any sense an official publication, its authors have taken pains to state fully and precisely the official view of every question, even when they regard it as unsatisfactory. They remind us that, when the Conference of Paris began its work, the new nationalities, and some of the old, had considerable armies on foot in Eastern Europe, and were sometimes taking steps to anticipate the verdicts of the Conference by a military occupation of territories which they particularly desired but were not confident of obtaining by an arbitration. Towards these violators of the armistices the Conference adopted a firm attitude, on the whole with gratifying results. But there were limits to the powers of moral persuasion. Unless the principal Allies were prepared to embark on a whole series of wars in Eastern Europe against their own clients and coadjutors, they were bound to frame the new treaties on lines which would more or less satisfy the aspirations of the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Yugo-Slavs, and the Rumanians.

Another consideration which could not be neglected was the desirability of making the new States strong enough, both in the economic and in the strategic sense, to hold their own in the struggle for existence. On the observing of these two counsels of prudence depended the peace and prosperity of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. It was impossible to observe them in every case without doing some violence to the principle of self-determination. But this principle had never been treated, even by Mr Wilson in his published utterances, as a categorical imperative which must not be qualified by considerations of the common welfare. The re-establishment of peace was the most urgent problem both for the victors and for the vanquished. It was better, for example, to divide the mixed populations of the Banat between Rumania and Yugo-Slavia than to settle the destiny of those populations strictly in accordance with their nationality, thereby sowing the seeds of a triangular war of these two Powers against each other

and against the new Hungary. It was better to assign the Germans of Bohemia to the Czecho-Slovak Republic than to incorporate them in a German-Austria which would be defenceless against the Czecho-Slovaks when the Conference dissolved; nor, if this latter alternative had been practicable, would it have been wise to impair the strategic frontiers and the economic organisation of Czecho-Slovakia to such a degree as to make her the weakest of the new States. In these and in similar cases it was hoped that the Minorities Treaties would mitigate the hardships of the minorities which were denied the right of self-determination.

What do the Minorities Treaties guarantee? Their principles were carefully elaborated at Paris by a strong Committee representative of the Five Principal Powers. They secure to all inhabitants of the contracting States the full and complete protection of life and liberty, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion. They provide that every inhabitant of transferred territories shall automatically become a national of the State to which he is transferred, unless he prefers to adopt some other nationality which is open to him.* They provide that all nationals shall be equal in the eyes of the law, and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights. The languages of racial minorities are protected by requiring, first that there shall be no restriction on the free use of these languages in private intercourse, in commerce, in religious worship, in publications of any kind, or at public meetings; secondly, that facilities shall be given to the members of any such minority to use their own language, both orally and in writing, in the law-courts; thirdly, that such minorities may found, at their own expense, schools in which their own language is used; fourthly, that the government shall make adequate provision in the state-schools for instructing the children of the minorities through the medium of their own languages. Finally, it is provided that the minorities shall receive a fair proportion of any grants made by the State or by municipalities for religious, educational or charitable purposes.

* The German Treaty (Art. 91) excepts from the benefit of this concession those Germans who had settled as colonists in Polish provinces since 1908.

That such rules should have to be enforced by external authority on any modern State will seem surprising to those who are not aware of the treatment which has been experienced in the past by the Jews of Poland and Rumania, and by the Slovaks and the Ruthenians on both slopes of the Carpathians. Dr Seton Watson describes (History, IV, 246) the lot of the Slovaks under Magyar rule. In 1875 the Slovak Academy was closed, and its funds, library, and museum were confiscated; in the same year all the Slovak 'middle schools' were suppressed. Between 1869 and 1909 the number of Slovak primary schools sank from 1921 to 429. The Slovaks were practically excluded from the legal profession, from the higher ranks of the teaching profession, from the civil service of the State, and from that of their own countries and municipalities. Their language was not tolerated in the law-courts, in the post-offices, or on the railways. Finally, they were deprived of parliamentary representation. Undoubtedly there is need for the Minorities Treaties; the Magyars were not by nature more intolerant than their Polish and Rumanian neighbours, they were merely more skilful in the art of oppression. But it may be observed that the disabilities of the Slovaks were not all created by discriminating legislation. The Slovaks, for example, could qualify for parliamentary franchise; but they were excluded from the electoral rolls on illegal pretexts, or they were forcibly prevented from registering their votes, or the constituencies were so mapped out so as give their votes the minimum of weight.

Probably it will not be difficult to prevent the making of laws which violate the Minorities Treaties; it will be much more difficult to put a stop to administrative oppression and abuses of justice. The duty of enforcing the Treaties is committed to the Council of the League of Nations and to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Neither of these bodies can take action except at the instance of a member of the Council. What the Council may then do is not defined by the Treaties, which merely say that it 'may take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.' The action would presumably be diplomatic and therefore dilatory. The Permanent Court

has power to make a final decision which has the same force as an award under Art. 13 of the Covenant of the League; but the difficulty which the Court will certainly encounter is that of ascertaining the facts when a complaint is lodged, not against an unjust law, but against the alleged illegal acts of State officials. Also it must be remembered that there is no settled procedure for enforcing an award of the Permanent Court against a refractory government.

The Peace History mentions one particularly flagrant instance of the violations of a Minorities Treaty. The Rumanian Government undertook 'to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czecklers in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters.' But Major Temperley remarks (iv, 495) that they have avowedly broken up the Magyar university of Kolozvar (Transylvania) and dispersed the professors and the educational staff; and apparently no redress had been obtained up to March 1921. In view of such an occurrence it really seems superfluous to argue, as is done by an anonymous writer in the Peace History (v, 140), that the Minorities Treaties are unobjectionable because they confer no excessive powers on the League of Nations. The real question is whether the sanction of these Treaties has any value at all. It can never be worth much until the League and the Permanent Court have provided themselves with forms of procedure which will ensure prompt and effective redress of abuses under the Treaties. We may assume that even those who, like the French, regard the League of Nations under most of its aspects with a benevolent disdain are at least anxious that the Minorities Treaties shall be enforced. It is not simply a question of vindicating the abstract rights of man. Systematic disregard of the Minorities Treaties might easily set all Europe in a blaze.

This much will be evident to any one who cares to study the statistical tables which Mr B. C. Wallis has prepared for the fifth volume of the Peace History (v, 150-5). They are a rather startling commentary on the results of the attempt to apply the principle of nationality to the reorganisation of Eastern Europe. They remind us of the bitter reflexion of the Magyar delegates at Paris that 'the new States to be erected on

the ruins of the Hungarian State would be, from the racial point of view, just as complex as that was, while every other principle of organic unity would be wanting.' From one of these tables it appears that the three States of Yugo-Slavia, Rumania, and Czecho-Slovakia count among their subjects five million Germans, three million Magyars, one million of Ruthenes, three-quarters of a million of Mussulmans. Mr Wallis prefers to make no estimate of the total Polish population or of the German element in Poland. But recent estimates give the figure of 27 to 32 millions for the Polish population, and of 1,000,000 at least for the Germans in Poland, while the Ruthenes of East Galicia are believed to number about three millions. Adopting these figures for Poland, and those of Mr Wallis for the remaining three States, we find that the four States have a total population of about 73 millions, with alien minorities amounting to 14 millions. It is probable that the Ruthenes will give little trouble until they have an opportunity of joining an Ukrainian State. But the Magyars and Germans belong to old ruling races and are likely to be dangerous if they are misgoverned.

Happily there are signs that the political situation in Eastern Europe, in spite of many violent oscillations, is tending to a relative stability. The fear of any immediate attempt on the part of the new Hungary to set up a Hapsburg monarch was abated by the two abortive visits of Karl IV to that country, and has since then been rendered more illusory by his death. While it lasted, the fear of the Hapsburgs had the useful effect of calling into existence the Little Entente of Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, and Rumania. Although this pact only provides for common action in the event of an unprovoked attack by Hungary on one of the contracting parties, it does imply a certain consciousness of common interests which was not previously manifested either by Rumania or by Yugo-Slavia. The Treaty of Rapallo, however unwillingly accepted by one of the contracting parties, has at all events staved off the war in the Adriatic which more than once, in 1919 and 1920, appeared to be imminent; and it is remarkable as expressing the desire and the intention of both parties to secure 'good intellectual and moral relations between the two peoples.'

These two treaties are duly recorded in the Peace History (IV, 519, and V, 428).

Since March 1921—the point to which the story is carried in its two latest volumes—there have been other developments. The award of the League of Nations respecting Upper Silesia has been severely criticised, on the ground that it divides the industrial area of that province between Germany and Poland; it is certainly a decision which may be challenged by Germany in the future. But this award, like the Treaty of Rapallo, has at least removed the uncertainty which did more than anything else to make Silesia a centre of disturbance. Then there has been an attempt, in the Portorose Conference, to bring about better commercial relations between the Danubian Powers; and Czecho-Slovakia has definitely signed a commercial agreement with Austria which shows a realisation of the interdependence of the industries of the two countries. Finally, on March 30 of the present year there has been signed at Riga an agreement between Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Soviet Russia, by which the first three of these governments recognise the *de jure* sovereignty of the last, and agree to take common action at the Genoa Conference for the restoration of commercial intercourse and for the disarmament of all the Powers. While it is impossible to gauge the precise significance of any one of these events, they are certainly symptomatic of a new and better frame of mind in Eastern Europe.

There still remains the question of Austria. However smoothly other problems of Eastern Europe may be settled, the final collapse of the new Austria would shake the very foundations of the peace settlement in this region; so too would a political union of Austria with Germany in defiance of the express prohibition of the Allies. It is rather late in the day to consider whether the treatment of Austria at the Conference was just or unjust. The decisions as to the boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia and Italy could only be altered with the assent of the Principal Powers and the Successor States. The veto against union with Germany is incorporated in the German Treaty and would be still more difficult to alter. The new Austria must be taken as it stands. Can it be

made a solvent and self-supporting State? In a paper read before the British Institute of International Affairs in March 1922 ('Journal B.I.I.A.,' vol. I, pp. 34ff.), Sir William Goode is considerably more sanguine than was Prof. Coolidge twelve months earlier. The latter was inclined to predict either a break-up of Austria or a union with Germany as the only possible remedies for a desperate situation. Sir W. Goode states that, until the end of last year, the German solution was a 'national fetish' in Austria; but he adds that the present year has witnessed a rather violent reaction. Austrians have made up their minds to be independent; they are more hopeful about the future of their trade with the other Successor States; they have realised that their industries are reviving, and are recapturing an export trade; and the Schober Government, thanks to its two financial members, Dr Gurtler and Dr Rosenberg, is making an heroic effort to establish a balance between revenue and expenditure by increasing the taxes and abolishing the food subsidies.

Sir W. Goode pleads strongly for a complete and above-board cancelling of all reparation claims on Austria. As he points out, the only kind of loan which Austria can hope to raise is a loan secured upon national assets; and at present these assets are not free security. For nearly a year the League of Nations has been negotiating with the creditor Powers to postpone their claims for reparations and for relief loans for twenty years. But, though the half-measure might serve the immediate purpose, a full remission would be more sensible on the part of the Allied and Associated Powers—who cannot seriously expect to get anything out of Austria—and an encouragement to the Austrians, who have had hanging over their heads for the last three years an indefinite liability which has helped to check the revival of their self-confidence and of their credit. This point, curiously enough, is not recognised by Mr Sydney Peel in his illuminating discussion of the Austrian reparation clauses ('Hist.,' v, c. 1). After remarking that the true purport of these clauses is disguised by bad drafting (which was due to the supposed necessity of following the form of the German treaty), he says: 'Though the form is alarming, there is nothing terrifying

in the substance. The chapter is really a lamb masquerading in wolf's clothing.' But the reparation clauses must be read in connexion with the Advances to Austria Agreement, under which all Austria's assets are hypothecated to the Powers interested in reparations and the relief loans.

So far we have been dealing with works of a scientific and judicial character. To this category the work of M. André Tardieu cannot be assigned. It is a most able defence of French policy at the Conference, but it shows the defects of its qualities. M. Tardieu speaks of events at Paris with a fulness of knowledge which very few outside the charmed circle of the Four can claim to possess. He was a plenipotentiary. He presided over five of the eight territorial commissions. He was frequently employed to draft the French *plaidoyer* on questions of the most delicate and important kind. He has at his disposal an excellent chronological record of the proceedings of the Four, and he is acquainted with some incidents which he can scarcely have learned except from one of their number. Apart from the benedictory epistle which M. Clemenceau has written as a preface, there are many proofs that M. Tardieu enjoys the confidence of the former President of the Conference. Unfortunately M. Tardieu has made use of these great opportunities, not to write a history, but to vindicate his patron and to indict those who have been responsible for French policy since that patron fell from power. The defence is not intended for foreign consumption. While foreign critics are arguing the question whether France claimed too much, or whether she was too indulgently treated by her Allies, M. Tardieu proclaims from the house-tops that M. Clemenceau did not ask for too little, that he asked for more than he obtained. 'It is an established fact that the French point of view has *generally* prevailed, though *not without a struggle*.' The italics are ours. They are justifiable because the thesis of M. Tardieu may be bluntly stated in this form: that, considering the opposition which she encountered from her own Allies, particularly from the British and the Americans, France has done very well out of the Treaty of Versailles.

Certain of M. Tardieu's chapters, in spite of, even because of, this bias, have a considerable value as evidence. He describes methodically the course of the debates on certain questions—particularly on the Saar Valley, the Left Bank, and Reparations—quoting very fully from the French official documents and giving some piquant summaries of the oral discussions. M. Clemenceau congratulates his lieutenant for throwing on the subject which he has in hand 'the light of concatenated facts.' This in a sense is true; the pages of M. Tardieu bristle with statistics, dates, and documents. But the statistics and the documents only illustrate one side of the question on which they are brought to bear. This may not be altogether the fault of M. Tardieu. We can imagine that, even when he has at his disposal an important state-paper of British or American origin, he feels unable to publish it without permission; and it is a delicate matter to ask such a permission from the people whom you propose to put into the dock, when the documents are required to complete the indictment against them. Still, the method has unfortunate results, as, for example, when M. Tardieu prints in full a French rejoinder to a famous memorandum presented by Mr Lloyd George to his colleagues at the Conference on March 26, 1919, without giving even a summary of that memorandum, which is not quite fairly treated in the rejoinder.* The work of M. Tardieu will be still more useful than it is already when the reminiscences of Mr Wilson and Mr George are given to the world. M. Tardieu is always urbane, except when he is referring to Mr Keynes or to French *défaitistes* and *champions de la révision*, and he is profuse in his compliments to the Allies; but in his suave manner he contrives to impress upon us the defects of those who dared to differ from M. Clemenceau, to emphasise the professorial rigidity of Mr Wilson, the yet more embarrassing open-mindedness and mutability of Mr Lloyd George.

It is unnecessary to go over the elaborate arguments by which M. Tardieu proves the justice of the Treaty of Versailles, or at least of those clauses in which France

* 'La Paix,' pp. 129-132. The memorandum is now printed as a White Paper [Cmd. 1614] 1922.

Vol. 238.—No. 472.

C

was particularly interested. Most of these arguments will be found, in a much shorter form, in the American volume, and particularly in an able chapter by Prof. Haskins on the new boundaries of Germany. We will only remark that, on the financial and economic clauses relating to Alsace-Lorraine—clauses which, so far as we can discover, the Americans do not discuss—M. Tardieu remains impenitent. Indeed, it appears to be one of his most cherished memories of the Conference that, in this matter, the commission agreed with him, 'après une dizaine de séances de quatre heures chacune,' in which he was pitted against an English expert. M. Tardieu is a good fighter, like his chief. But we should be sorry to convey the impression that his book and his action at the Conference justify all the hard things that have been said about the French negotiators. We think that his policy, the policy of M. Clemenceau, is very fairly appraised in some remarks by an American economic specialist, Prof. Young, relating to the three types of French delegate that he encountered. There was, he says, the type which laboured, happily without effect, to humiliate the vanquished by incessant pin-pricks. There was another type to which French security meant French supremacy in Europe, bolstered up by military alliances, by the partitioning of enemy states, and by the deliberate destruction of their economic life. But the type represented by Clemenceau and his ablest lieutenants was not open to these reproaches. These, the best French statesmen, really and truly subordinated all other considerations to that of making France secure against another unprovoked attack ('What Happened,' pp. 298-9).

Oddly enough, Prof. Young does not credit M. Clemenceau with an overwhelming desire for the 'integral reparation' which played so large a part in all French statements of French aims at the Conference. Perhaps this is an accidental omission. M. Tardieu, at all events, is very specially concerned to prove that M. Clemenceau was both sound and successful on this important issue. He is even prepared to prove that, if M. Clemenceau had remained in power, Germany would have been obliged to pay. For M. Tardieu, writing early in 1921, it is certain that Germany can pay, and that the Allies ought to exercise without scruple the powers

which the Treaty gives them for dealing with a voluntary default. For him the negotiations of San Remo, Hythe, Boulogne, and Spa, are compendiously summarised as 'mutilations of the Treaty.' The causes? There are several: the indifference of the Allies, the malign influence of Mr Keynes, but above all, in France, a want of resolution which creates the idea that France is afraid of Germany: 'propos de soviets et propos de salons; snobismes révolutionnaires et snobismes réactionnaires, sur quoi, hélas! a fini par se modeler la politique du pays' ('La Paix,' p. 511).

We trust that these illusions are no longer held, if they were ever held, by M. Clemenceau, whom we in this country have been accustomed to regard as a realist of massive common-sense. That impression is confirmed by many pages in the narrative of M. Tardieu. Here, for instance, we have the assurance that Clemenceau never shared the illusion of M. Gabriel Hanotaux, and others of his countrymen, that French diplomacy might bring about a disintegration of Germany into loosely federated and particularist small States. Illusions he had, but of another kind. He long supposed that Bolshevism might be isolated by a sanitary cordon of Allied armies, or even cured by Allied intervention in the civil wars of Russia. He appears to have been deeply enamoured of the Syrian adventure, and over-confident of the advantages to be expected by France from the gratitude of the new States in Eastern Europe. In these mistakes he erred in good company, and has probably realised his error. We should like to believe that by this time he has come to regard the reparations compromise arranged by Mr George and M. Briand (Feb. 1921), as corresponding more closely to the actual situation of Germany than the estimates which were current in French political circles at the time of the Conference.

H. W. C. DAVIS.

Art. 3.—THE WORK OF WALTER DE LA MARE.

Songs of Childhood. By 'Walter Ramal' (Longmans, 1902); *Henry Brocken* (Murray, 1904); *Poems* (Murray, 1906); *The Return* (Arnold, 1910); *The Listeners and Other Poems* (Constable, 1912); *Peacock Pie* (Constable, 1913); *Motley and Other Poems* (Constable, 1918); *Poems, 1901 to 1918*, 2 vols. (Constable, 1920); *Memoirs of a Midget* (Collins, 1921).

And other works by the same.

It is easier to speak candidly of the dead than of the living; it is easier to praise the dead, it is easier to be just to the dead than to the living. The art of criticism, which may appear to some a purely intellectual exercise, is primarily a moral exercise, for it is not to be practised except with equal honesty and sensitiveness, equal kindness and confidence; but the natural difficulty of applying critical principles to a dead artist is slight in comparison with that which arises when the subject is a contemporary. Those principles themselves are so variable and variously cherished, and the æstheticism which every artist and every critic broods darkly upon is so purely personal, that the task of finding a common ground and using a common language is perplexing as well as exciting. Criticism is not a science, else young men might learn it; nor an attitude, else old men might grow perfect in it; rather is it an adventure calling for a touch of gallantry, a touch of forbearance, a gentle use of logic, a free recourse to imagination, and no more than the faintest hint of dogmatism. If something of this delicate adjustment may be spared when the subject is in the past, certainly nothing must be forgotten in following a living creative mind in its mental travels. The subject is no longer an island to be painfully surveyed, but a ship to be followed, a light to be pursued upon the changing currents of the mind.

Mr Walter de la Mare is a poet to whom it is possible to be unjust, equally in praise and in depreciation. His genius eludes classification. There are many plain things to be remarked as you look at his work, whether in verse or prose, but beyond these you are aware of more subtle and uncertain things to which a reader cannot

fully respond unless his temperament is richly accordant with the author's.) The discovery of what may be called a common ground, and a common tongue, is not sufficient for a full apprehension of this poet's uncommon power; and he must be considered as unique, even after he has been considered as traditional.

Twenty years have passed since the publication of 'Songs of Childhood.' Several of these songs have disappeared from the collected edition of the poems, and others have almost disappeared in the amendment to which they have been somewhat cruelly subjected; the habit of revision having developed in our author from anxious virtue into morbid vice. Such a misgiving as this meticulous habit reveals tends to sophisticate the first simplicities; and to compare the versions of 1902 and 1920 is to become aware that, in trying to make the verses better, the poet has merely made them different. At times the rhythm is faintly altered, at times an earlier awkwardness is removed, an epithet sharpened, an archaic touch annulled; something mature has stepped in, something youthful has passed out; and even the nicest skill does not always conceal the critical mind at work upon a lost imagination. Readers of the earlier versions have lamented these changes, without presuming to question the author's right to make them; and indeed it is not claimed for the 1902 volume that its attractiveness was complete and irresistible. 'Songs of Childhood' contained the prophecy, but a reader wanted heavenly inspiration before he could clearly perceive the buried 'Motley' in Mr de la Mare's earliest book. We need not pursue the point, only noting now the early fondness for names and for Poe, for children and fairies, and the almost deliberate attempt to produce a hypnotic state by the repetition of phrases and sounds. The field of the poet, though a small field (even in later years but little enlarged and nowhere unhedged), as yet was new and strange, thus meeting quite easily one of the primary conditions of romantic art. You may find Dr Watts in it, and nursery rhymes and fairy tales, hints of Keats and Coleridge; but, in spite of echoes and imperfections, the book has clearly a character of its own, and for some lovers a peculiar and lasting beauty. Readers, nevertheless, for a long time were few and silent; and, but for

its successors, 'Songs of Childhood' might have expired, where for so long it languished, in a single edition bearing the forgotten name of 'Walter Ramal' for author.

Nor did the 'Poems' of 1906 go very far beyond repeating the first promise. The book contained more perfect things—few of the first songs were perfect—and quasi-dramatic Shakespearean reveries which bore little interest save that of autobiography. These reveries proved how well Mr de la Mare could use the trick of Shakespeare's voice, how well he loved Mercutio, how his heart warmed to Juliet's nurse, and how fond was his apprehension of Hamlet—matters on which later testimony is abundant, but which in no way speeded his self-discovery in poetry. The process has been a slow one, and as natural as the growth of a hawthorn; but that it was not thwarted in the years between the first and second books is proved by the beauty of 'The Children of Stare' and other preludes to the finer achievement of later lyrics; witness these stanzas:

'Green Mistletoe!
Oh I remember now
A dell of snow,
Frost on the bough,
None there but I;
Snow, snow, and a wintry sky. . . .

'And the dusk gathered low,
And the silver moon and stars
On the frozen snow
Drew taper bars,
Kindled winking fires
In the hooded briers.'

And lines of other poems show a yet rarer gift of phrase, as 'amid the violets, tears of an antique bitterness . . .' There is a charming, old didacticism in the 1906 volume which has dwindled but by no means vanished in the later work, and a gravely religious impulse, nowhere explicit but frequently felt—felt, indeed, more strongly with successive volumes of prose and verse alike.

The delayed perfection was found abundantly in 'The Listeners' of 1912, and developed so consistently in 'Peacock Pie' and 'Motley' that it is proper to treat the poetry of these three books as a whole.

Mr de la Mare's temperament is not fully expressed in his poetry; a part is uttered in the prose at which we shall be looking in a moment, but scarcely hinted at in the verse. The two characters of Shakespeare already named, Mercutio and Juliet's nurse, are the prototypes of the prose half; but there is no single prototype of the personality which glows ardently and sombrely through the verse, unless, perhaps, you figure to yourself an untragic Hamlet, Hamlet with a mind still narrowly introverted, but turning at first easily and then darkly upon the mirror of itself in nature. No modern poet is less objective, scarce any more severely restricted in subject. A dense thicket has slowly darkened around his mind, concentrating shadow and silence. There is ever a new burrowing into his own personality, an intenser stare into private deeps, a fonder and farther retrospection, a more passionate reversion to a small, grave, haunted child, or faint, haunted spirit. His mind sinks down from the light of common day to the dusk of early consciousness, and again down to the obscurer unconsciousness, thrusting there perpetually for a door, for any least gap in the blind and dewy hedge. A ghost or 'inward presence' urges him into this solitary quest, for it is himself he addresses when he murmurs:

'Rave how thou wilt; unmoved, remote,
That inward presence slumbers not,
Frets out each secret from thy breast,
Gives thee no rally, pause, nor rest,
Scans close thy very thoughts, lest they
Should sap his patient power away,
Answers thy wrath with peace, thy cry
With tenderest taciturnity.'

Solemn adjurations of a like intensity teem in his pages, and must have been too hastily put aside by the many readers who discover only a fantastic delight in them. In the image of a dark château, a traveller listening at an unopening door, a stone half-hidden in a graveyard, a fool ringing his bells, a sunken garden's 'green and darkling spot,' you are conscious of a whispered pleading and protest, a pleading for light, a protest against mortality. His poetry is full of images, and much of it can best be described in an image. No

'tame villatic fowl,' indeed, his muse is often a solitary robin, singing in winter upon a wall that scarce divides the cottage-garden from the familiar graveyard. Like the robin, the muse flits from headstone to window-sill, now whistling from cypress shadows, now sending her brightest note through the shut window of the glowing room. Childhood and age, alike low-voiced, inhabit the house, half-lit by the fire's embers, and animated only when dusk calls for candles. A noisy wind may bring the sound but never the air of the hills into the small room; and the gentle voices rise unvexed by what is outside, or at times are shut into an oppression of quiet:

'Unmoved it broods, this all-encompassing hush
Of one who stooping near,
No smallest stir will make
Our fear to wake,
But yet intent
Upon some mystery bent
Hearkens the lightest word we say, or hear.'

Stories are told between the silences, songs sung to children, of Martha and Rachel and Ann, the rhymes and tales that brighten so deliciously the pages of 'Peacock Pie'; and the private, stirless air of the room is agitated with fantastic laughter. Sometimes the house is left for a singular landscape not far beyond the tombs, a forest where the kestrel screams, a small and secret English landscape or a fantastic Arabia, briefly visited and never forgotten. But the excursions are short, and never for long do you miss the voice singing a homely and lovely song, which, when it is ended, leaves the silence as quick and thoughtful as the words.

Of the beauty of this poetry it is impossible to speak. The description of true poetry is at best but a kind of foolish paraphrase—an injury to the poet, a slight to the reader. It is needful but to quote a single stanza, one of a hundred perfect things; and, if I choose 'The Song of Shadows,' it is not only because it seems to me the most beautiful of all, but because it is representative.

'Sweep thy faint strings, Musician,
With thy long lean hand:
Downward the starry tapers burn,
Sinks soft the waning sand;

The old hound whimpers couched in sleep,
The embers smoulder low ;
Across the walls the shadows
Come, and go.'

Our time has seen no finer lyric achieved in the desire to create a joy for ever ; a lyric suggesting part of the secret of its beauty in the harmony of sound and hue. Simplicities flow from Mr de la Mare's muse, as surely as the most cunning elaboration, and of each kind examples are easily found :

'An apple, a child, dust
When falls the evening rain,
Wild briar's spiced leaves,
Breathe memories again.'

Nothing might be simpler than these four lines, nor anything more beautiful in another mode than this :

'Sweet is the music of Arabia
In my heart, when out of dreams
I still in the clear mirk of dawn
Descry her gliding streams :
Hear her strange lutes on the green banks
Ring loud with the grief and delight
Of the dim-silked, dark-haired Musicians
In the brooding silence of night.'

Although it is proper, as I have said, to regard 'Motley' under the same aspect as earlier volumes, it is to be noted that a new element appears in that book and that the conjunction of old and new makes 'Motley' the best of all the poet's work. The art of the verse has attained another measure of perfection, for it follows more closely than ever a deeper impulse ; but it is the deeper impulse itself that sounds the new note.

There are two worlds with which the imaginative mind may be concerned : one is the world which it creates by itself and of itself, the world which has no other reality than an immaterial reality ; and the other is the common moral and material sphere with which all men are necessarily confronted. Most artists are concerned with one only of these worlds. Blake beheld and apprehended the imaginative and immaterial alone, Browning the moral and material alone. In his earlier

poetry Mr de la Mare was preoccupied—haunted, even—by the imaginative world, which he saw often as a bright, sometimes as a dark sphere, chequered with sunlight and moonlight falling between shadows, and peopled with those fantastic figures—in human shape or winged—which spring suddenly from the fulness of the mind. But in 'Motley' he dwells no longer utterly in that brilliant and flushing world; he is compelled by a new urgency to absent himself from felicity and breathe the air of commoner reality. He begins to meet the questions that we all meet, the difficulties, the desolation, the despair; he tries to apprehend the world in which we all move—what it is, who are they that throng it, and the eternal whence and whither of their passage. Part of the peculiar intimacy which 'Motley' allows to the reader comes from the fact that the poet is so sharply and so bitterly aware of the exile from the imaginative world. It is an intermitted exile; and so these departures and returns, despairs and renewals, yield him and us the solace of an exquisitely human tenderness. The painfulness is not yet prolonged, the edge of bliss resumed is not yet dulled; and in this alternation between the two spheres lies the open secret of the beauty of 'Motley.' So he passes from:

'When music sounds, all that I was I am
Ere to this haunt of brooding dust I came;
While from Time's woods break into distant song
The swift-winged hours, as I hasten along——'

to the sorrowfulness of:

'Some win peace who spend
The skill of words to sweeten despair
Of finding consolation where
Life has but one dark end;
Who, in rapt solitude, tell o'er
A tale as lovely as forlore,
Into the midnight air.'

Speech so plain as this makes interpretation vain;
and not less vain when you read, in a poem itself called
'The Exile':

'Betrayed and fugitive, I still must roam
A world where sin, and beauty, whisper of Home.'

It is far from being a matter for disappointment or remonstrance that Mr de la Mare has won this painful freedom of passing between two worlds.

Although I have spoken of part of Mr de la Mare's mind being uttered in prose, it is not possible to survey his work in isolated fragments, and therefore a reference to the prose falls conveniently here. 'Henry Brocken,' indeed, is a prose exercise of his poetic instinct, unwisely diverted into this medium, rather than an exercise of powers which could find utterance in prose alone. It is an essay upon the eternal theme of the wanderer, a journey backwards through the imaginative kingdom of other writers—Poe, Charlotte Brontë, Cervantes, and so on; and thus is akin to the 'Characters from Shakespeare's Plays' which were found in his second volume of poems. Admirably written, with a fervid ingenuity and a fondness like that of a child for remembered stories, 'Henry Brocken' reveals its author only in that fondness. 'The Three Mulla Mulgars' followed for the delight of many children, but with a reminder that the literary preferences of the child are beyond prediction. Happy are they whose perfect childishness finds an equal wondering joy in 'The Pilgrim's Progress' and 'The Three Mulla Mulgars'! I cannot pretend to show why other children do not find satisfaction in either, and nevertheless slake their capricious appetites with 'Peacock Pie,' a tale of Tchehov, Mr Hudson's 'Purple Land,' and Mangan's 'Dark Rosaleen.' Maybe it is the slight allegorical hint, the touch of the emblem, that repels the graceless children who do not care for Mr de la Mare's story of the three monkeys; maybe it is an inexplicit but acute sense of the gulf between the fantastic and the imaginative.

When the third novel, 'The Return,' was published, there was found little of the merely fantastic and nothing that might have gone into verse. 'The Return' was an essay in quite another manner, and suggested that the author had strayed into a field over which the spirit of Henry James had passed. There was no lack of welcome for this novel, but, for all its welcome, it slid very quietly into the minds of readers, and perhaps needed more than a single reading before its singular

beauty and strength could be realised. It is the story of a man who, recovering from an illness, strays one afternoon into a graveyard and sits by the unconsecrated grave of one Sabathier; drowsing there, and awakening into a sense of strangeness, he grows conscious of something akin to demoniacal possession, which touches not simply his mind but changes also his face into the abhorred likeness of the buried outcast. Consummate is the skill with which this incredible possibility is made convincing to the victim, his sceptical wife, his friends, and—most difficult of all—to the reader. The single, profound impression of interfusing spiritual and physical is not maintained equally throughout the book, but this metaphysic dominates the whole without rendering the story less than imaginative. The difficult abyss between imagination and invention might be surveyed in the first and second parts of 'The Return'; certainly, in the first, imagination is absolute. Spiritual horror peers through, and spiritual beauty expels the horror; and the story of that wrestling with principalities and powers and the rulers of the darkness of this world pierces and dismays the reader. It is the more wonderful since this tragic battle is set within a commonplace suburban home, with a detestable wife and a too briefly seen, adorable child for witnesses. In one short scene there is an almost unendurable anguish of recognition, when poor Arthur Lawford is suddenly confronted with the child to whom, for her sake only, he shows his changed face as that of the doctor:

'Alice turned, dismayed, and looked steadily, almost with hostility, at the stranger, so curiously transfixed and isolated in her small old play-room. And in this scornful yet pleading confrontation her eye fell suddenly on the pin in his scarf—the claw and the pearl she had known all her life. From that her gaze flitted, like some wild, demented thing's, over face, hair, hands, clothes, attitude, expression; and her heart stood still in an awful, inarticulate dread of the unknown. She turned slowly towards her mother, groped forward a few steps, turned once more, stretching out her hands towards the vague, still figure whose eyes had called so piteously to her out of their depths, and fell fainting in the doorway.'

As tender, as perfect, is the later scene when the

child secretly visits him; but this I cannot quote here, for to isolate would be to spoil it. That the evil metempsychosis is defeated is the least significant fact in the story; the significance lies in the struggle, the lonely courage, the beauty springing up in the bleakness of a narrow and material neighbourhood. To speak in an image of 'The Return' is to say that in the cold, owlish darkness of the mind a light shines, making that darkness suddenly crystal with beamy reflexions—every wet spray beaded with tiny mirrors yet with no clear light anywhere. Oddly enough, where the story is apparently autobiographical, it diminishes the impression of the rest; but perhaps it is not odd that voluble characters should be a distraction, even if one of them speaks with the roving and restless curiosity which so exactly suggests the author's talk. But even when these incessant verticulations are most bewildering, deep and simple things are said—'The more one thinks about life the worse it becomes'—and that of poor Sabathier, 'What peace did he find who couldn't, perhaps, like you, face the last good-bye?'

In looking at Mr de la Mare's most recent work in verse and prose, I cannot evade an impression that the change which was lightly apparent in 'Motley' has been strongly developed in the brief intervening years. In 'The Veil' he is seen often painfully far from his imaginative sphere, reverting to it in desire but bitterly alienated: treading the harsher ways of the common sphere, unable to accept it, unable to escape from it, seeing it as a moral enormity and that other as a spiritual sweetness, but no longer passing as it were at will from this to that. The simplicities and the ingenuities of joy have alike waned; doubts rise and do not sink again, but are met by affirmations, or softened by consolatory whispers. The heart of furious fancies has been startled by a vision that is no cloudy fancy—the callous, rude-carven image of time, with change and sorrow in tributary posture at his feet. Enchantment is forgone or forgotten, and interpretation begins.

The publication of 'The Memoirs of a Midget' had already prompted such misgivings as these, when 'The Veil' following showed that the new attitude was not a

casual one, or a dramatic assumption, but an inward change or growth. Had the author wanted to prove the unkindness of fate or circumstance towards the tenderest of sensitive things, the natural cruelty of human hearts, the sadder cruelty of egoism, his choice of theme and his treatment of character would have made the new novel an exhaustive proof. But he did not want to prove anything, certainly not anything desperate, bitter, relaxing; and hence it seems that the melancholy frustrations of 'The Memoirs of a Midget,' and the mere insistent painfulness, are but an involuntary utterance of the unhappiness with which Mr de la Mare, stung by a sense of the irreconcilable, has contemplated life in its ruins—life of which all the beauty and energy have dwindled into the simple 'making the best of a bad job.' A midgetary 'Jude the Obscure' might hardly breathe an air of crueller sorrow than the poor nymph of our author's imagination; the parable of life is moralised to a purpose as sombre as that of Mr Hardy himself, whose spiritual influence, indeed, is the only one to which the younger writer has made obeisance.

All this may be read more clearly in the novel than in the latest verse, because the novel presents its theme with a fuller consistency than is possible in a collection of lyrics. And, too, it is more conspicuous by reason of the great contrast between the earlier chapters of the novel, with their beauty of reminiscence, and the extravagance of invention in the later chapters. Almost anywhere you may find passages which recall Mr Doughty's serene fairy landscapes, or tempt you to cry, 'A new Nymphidia!' so bright, so precise, so minute are the passionate beauties of Mr de la Mare's prose. But the surviving impression is the moral; the crystal, imaginative kingdom is far off when the last page of the book is turned; it is in a world of cold dun light that the reader wakes with the haunting evil of Fanny Bowater, the futility of Mr Anon, the worldliness of all the worldly, the weakness of all the unworldly, echoing or darkening around him.

'The Veil' is less completely dominated by the new spirit and offers more frequent contrasts. To speak of some poems as being poems of disillusion is to suggest that the others, in the more familiar mode, are poems

of illusion, and that would be false to poet and critic alike; but nevertheless there are not only signs of change, there is also, as I have said before, an evident consciousness of change. Mr de la Mare still writes out of the old enchantment:

'Dim-berried is the mistletoe
With globes of sheenless grey,
The holly mid ten thousand thorns
Smoulders its fires away;
And in the manger Jesu sleeps
This Christmas Day. . . .

'Now night is astir with burning stars
In darkness of the snow;
Burdened with frankincense and myrrh
And gold the Strangers go
Into a dusk where one dim lamp
Burns faintly, Lo!'

He returns to the lost world:

'Coral and clear emerald,
And amber from the sea,
Lilac-coloured amethyst,
Chalcedony;
The lovely Spirit of Air
Floats on a cloud and doth ride,
Clad in the beauties of earth
Like a bride.'

But now it is a revisitation and no longer inhabitation. Many of the poems in the volume called 'The Veil' suggest that the veil has been rent, and within is a fireless altar, an empty shrine. Empty with loveliness, is his own phrase, which may be transferred to the world in which he is moving; for whatever of exquisite he reveals in these poems brings the sorrowful persuasion of emptiness and forlornness. 'Is it to Vacancy I these tidings tell?' is his question in a lyric curiously entitled 'The Monologue'; and he even deplores an answer, and would only cling to Faith 'for sanity's sake.' One of the most beautiful of all his beautiful things is 'Not That Way,' and yet even here is the reiterating lament:

'Alas, that beauty hangs her flowers
For lure of his demoniac powers.'

His most piercing cry is a question, heard in the haunting shriek of the owl; or if he answers his own riddle of the universe, it is to say of man :

‘ Oh, rather, idly breaks he in
To an Eden innocent of sin ;
And, prouder than to be afraid,
Forgets his Maker in the made.’

The image that he sees is not the old sweet beckoning image; it is named Despair; and he no longer speaks quietly to a friendly Familiar but calls loudly, unavailingly, ‘ O Master, thick cloud shuts thee out!’ It is to this solemn effect that Mr de la Mare has turned from creation to interpretation, and the mere fact that a fine mind should reveal this great change in such a discouragement and misgiving betrays the modern philosophy in its clearest direction.

A careful reader will look for a development in style when the change of spirit is so conspicuous; and here also the prose and verse bear witness. The prose of ‘ The Memoirs of a Midget ’ is highly concentrated, and takes small heed to the weakness of mortality; it is so tense, so packed, so vividly and restlessly pictorial, that you rise from a prolonged reading with eyes smarting as though you had peered too closely at a pattern which a midget only might study with ease. In this minute agility the mind sees no point of rest; and while the prose thus matches the extravagant consciousness, the very ecstasy of self-consciousness, of the star-crossed Midget, it fatigues or bewilders the grosser reader. And in considering the ‘ style ’ of the book in more than a restricted technical sense, the humblest admirer may be disconcerted by the incessant moralisation of the Midget’s world; a moralisation to which not herself alone but most of the characters—that is, most of the women—contribute. Might not the disease of thought have been soothed a little? Might not the moral impression have been silently presented in circumstance and character, instead of in explicit challenge and pleading? To utter such doubts is to say again that the first part of this novel triumphs in its silence, and the second fails because of its too obstinate questioning. Memorably beautiful, nevertheless, are a hundred

passages in which Mr de la Mare writes as he has never written before:

'But think! There may never come another hour like this. Know, know now, that you have made me happy. I can never be so alone again. I share my secretest thoughts—my imagination, with you; isn't that a kind of love? I assure you that it is. Once I heard my mother talking, and sometimes I have wondered myself, if I am quite like—oh, you know what they say: a freak of Nature. Tell me: if by some enchantment I were really and indeed come from those snow mountains of yours, and that sea, would you recognise me? Would you? No, no; it's only a story—why, even all this green and loveliness is only skin deep. If the Old World were just to shrug its shoulders, Mr Anon, we should all, big and little, be clean gone.'

In the verse, again, the evidence of technical change following the spiritual change is clear. It is already perceptible in the poems written for the drawings of Miss Pamela Bianco. In those lovely illustrative verses there are the signs of perfection over-perfected, the main delight being that of style rather than conception, a technical more than an imaginative astonishment:

'As I did rove in blinded night,
Raying the sward, in slender ring,
A cirque I saw whose crystal light
Tranced my despair with glittering.

'Slender its gold. In hues of dream
Its jewels burned, smiting my eyes,
Like wings that flit about the stream
That waters Paradise.

'Sorrow broke in my heart to see
A thing so lovely; and I heard
Cry from its dark security
A 'wilderer bird.'

In many poems in 'The Veil' this technical innovation has become a little wilful, a little perverse even. The beauty achieved is beauty self-conscious, wrought with hands and not breathed up from the sod. Mr de la Mare's early uncertainty of style slowly passed away in the growth of a rare sureness and originality; he made his own idiom, by which all his verse may be instantly

recognised even by those who know but a little of it. His ear is exquisite, his fingering of syllables full of assurance. But in 'The Veil' originality, or the consciousness of mastery, sometimes edges out beauty, makes rhythm curt, and contracts imagination to fantasy.

'Wings diaphanous, beating bee-like,
Wand within fingers, locks enspangled,
Icicle foot, lip sharp as scarlet,
She lifted her eyes in her pitch-black hollow—
Green as stalks of weeds in water—
Breathed : stirred.'

And from a darker invention :

'And the wanderer
Back to flesh house must return.
Lone soul—in horror to see,
Than dream more meagre and awful,
Reality.'

The chief technical influence seen in Mr de la Mare's verse before 'The Veil' was that of Coleridge, whose wave-like music and translucent brightness are echoed and reflected even in certain of the latest poems, such as 'Sunk Lyonesse' :

'And the ocean water stirs
In salt-worn casemate and porch.
Plies the blunt-snouted fish
With fire in his skull for torch.
And the ringing wires resound;
And the unearthly lovely weep,
In lament of the music they make
In the sullen courts of sleep.'

But the influence of Coleridge is chief no longer, and now (if any be chief where none is very strong) it is Mr Bridges who affects his verse most plainly, with that manner of strange rhythm and odd phrasing which the Poet Laureate has used to test the affection of those that love his earlier work. With the conception, let us say in short, the style has become intellectualised ; both are less instinctive, more deliberate ; there is less to charm, more to stimulate, though it be only curiosity or

perplexity that is stimulated. 'Sweet and amusing,' in Gilbert White's phrase, are the earlier verses, but the later are dark in spirit and harsher in style. It may be that they are transitional and that the next volume will extend the movement at which it is possible to look too doubtfully now, forgetting that the present has grown out of the past and will itself soon be a station of the past. For criticism limps and stumbles at best, and can seldom anticipate the motion of an original mind. Sometimes it may luckily forecast the flight of the creative instinct, sometimes predict the course of the rational mind; but an impossible felicity is wanted to discover the future of such an alternation or fusion of the two as Mr de la Mare's latest work suggests.

Nor is it possible to attempt conclusions upon his present position in English poetry. His task as a lyrical writer is far different from that of Mr Hardy and Mr Doughty. The largeness of conception upon which the vast events of 'The Dynasts' are so easily borne, and which informs scarcely less amply the shorter poems of Mr Hardy, is no more within Mr de la Mare's range than is the elemental, mythopœic movement of 'The Dawn in Britain.' But it is his work, before that of any other contemporary, that springs to the memory if it be asked what lyrical, what purely subjective poems may best endure the neighbourhood of these epical nobilities. And there is satisfaction in noting how general has been its acceptance, how warm its welcome. Recognition has not needed the waspish provocation of attack; criticism has been but praise, never a whisper of dissent has broken the concord; and we may point to his poetry for current evidence that the best that is given to readers is the most honoured of all giving.

JOHN FREEMAN.

Art. 4.—CITIES OF TRANSCAUCASIA.

THE term Transcaucasia denotes the region bounded on the north by the great Caucasian chain, the watershed dividing Europe from Asia, on the south by the old Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian frontiers. Under the Russian Empire it comprised the Governments of the Black Sea, Kutais, Tiflis, Elisabetpol, Baku, and Erivan, the territories of Batum and Kars, and the districts of Sukhum and Zakatali. It separated from Russia in November 1917, on the assumption of power by the Bolsheviks in Petrograd, when the Georgians, in concert with the Armenians, and with the Tatars of Ganja (Elisabetpol) and Baku, established the joint Transcaucasian Republic. This state, breaking up, after five weeks' existence, owing to fundamental differences in race, religion, civilisation, and national aspirations between its component parts, dissolved into the Republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

As the prime movers in the establishment of this short-lived state were the Georgians, and as its seat of Government was the Georgian capital, TIFLIS, we will first consider this, the greatest of Transcaucasian cities. What generally is most surprising to newcomers is the vast extent of the place. Long and narrow, Tiflis stretches for eight miles along both banks of the Kura, the Cyrus of the ancients, which here flows swiftly in a south-easterly course between two ranges of hills before it emerges into the steppe, finally emptying itself, having meanwhile been swelled by the waters of the Araxes, into the Caspian some sixty miles south of Baku. The old city is at the eastern end. Here the hills suddenly come together, and two rocky spurs almost meet, forcing the Kura to fight its way through them with swift eddies and a volume of noise. The northern spur is crowned by the old Georgian citadel, now a prison, and by one of the most ancient of the Georgian churches, the 'Meleki'; east and west of it there clusters the Avlabar quarter, picturesque with its old houses and their deep verandahs (the most typical feature of Georgian domestic architecture) overhanging the river from a steep and rocky bluff. Immediately facing it, on the right bank, are the intricate Tatar, Armenian, and

Persian quarters; and an attractive little Shiah mosque, its squat and lowly minaret encrusted with green tiles, guards the bridge that spans the Kura at its narrowest point. A long, serrated ridge here rises abruptly and runs backwards to the hills in the south. Along the length of its summit are the remains, still fairly extensive, of an old Persian fort; and on its exceedingly steep slopes and among the towers and bastions of the fort is an ingeniously planned botanical garden, the just pride of modern Tiflis. On a clear day in winter or spring the view from the fort is indeed a notable one, all Tiflis, punctuated with the conical domes of churches and the minarets of mosques, and teeming with nearly a million inhabitants, at one's feet, and in the far distance to the north, towering above ridge upon ridge of mountains, the glittering peak of Promethean Kazbek.

In the valley below the ridge rises the hot spring that gives Tiflis its name. Of great repute for its healing properties, its waters are conducted into a handsome hammam in the Tatar quarter, where, *pace* Dumas père, a luckless Armenian Archbishop, unaccustomed to Turkish baths, once was boiled alive because excessive modesty prevented him from entrusting his person to the bath attendant. The bazaars of Tiflis are in this region, running from the hollow by the river up to the handsome Sololaki, the fashionable quarter of the town. Their main artery is the so-called Armenian bazaar, and is confined almost entirely to the shops of goldsmiths and silversmiths, varied towards the lower end by those of carpet-merchants and furriers. The work produced nowadays by the silversmiths consists principally of ornamental arms, and of the various accessories, generally in silver inlaid with gold, of the Cherkesski, the delightful dress common to the mountaineers of almost all Caucasia. A little niello work is also made; and there are generally to be found some of the delightful old silver flagons and still more characteristic silver wine ladles, without which no self-respecting Georgian household was formerly held to be complete. The furriers are chiefly occupied in making the black sheepskin *papakha*, a headdress that varies in shape and size, according to the taste and tribe of the wearer, from a trim little pork-pie cap to a vast and bellying busby of dimensions

undreamed of by the British army. The carpet-dealers are lodged in spacious *khans* overhanging the river, which, when communications are open with Persia, are well stocked with the products of Tabriz and Ardebil, as well as, at all times, with those of the Caucasus itself, with the gay and attractive rugs of Daghestan and Kuba, of Shemakha and Kazakh, Shirvan and Karabagh.

At the far end of the Armenian bazaar, low-lying by the river, is Sion Cathedral, a venerable building of yellow marble, which is now the metropolitan church of the Katholikos-Patriarch of Georgia. Close by is the palace of the Katholikos, standing in a little garden running down to the bank of the Kura; and it may not be out of place, therefore, at this point to say a word about the ancient Church of Georgia. The Church of Georgia is one of the score or so of 'autocephalous and isotimous,' that is to say, independent Churches, which, in full communion with one another, combine to form the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church. Originally a daughter-Church of the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Church of Georgia acquired her independence in the seventh century, and maintained it uninterruptedly until 1811. She was then incorporated with the Church of Russia; the Katholikos-Patriarch disappeared together with the Georgian liturgy; and in their place came a Russian Exarch and the liturgy in the Slavonic tongue. This state of affairs continued until May 1917, when the clergy of Georgia, anticipating the laity by six months, severed their connexion with Russia and re-established the independence of their Church. The Exarchate was abolished, and a Georgian Katholikos reigned once more in Tiflis. That so much of Georgian culture and race-consciousness survived the period of Russian rule is due in great measure to the Georgian clergy, to whom the nation owes a deep debt of gratitude in this respect. It is therefore a little surprising to find that his religion sits but lightly on the Christian Georgian of to-day. Indeed, his Moslem neighbours sometimes twit him by attributing his Christianity solely to his fondness for pork and wine. One day at Ananur, a mediæval fortified monastery on the Georgian military road, at the junction of the Aragwa (Strabo's Aragon) and a smaller stream, I witnessed a village wedding where only the

priest and the bride were sober and the best man kicked the sacristan, who was prostrating himself before an icon, so that he rolled head over heels in the middle of the service.

The Georgians, it may be mentioned, are doughty if not unrivalled trenchermen. They can sit at table, eating, drinking, and singing, for an unlimited number of hours (I know of a well-authenticated case of thirty-six); and it is no unusual accomplishment for a man to floor at a draught a drinking-horn holding five or six bottles of wine. They have, indeed, good justification for their prowess in this direction, for Georgian wines and Georgian cooking need fear no comparisons. In Lake Gokcha or Sevanga, a large lake on the Armenian side of the Armeno-Georgian frontier, is caught a noble kind of salmon-trout known locally by the name of Ishkhan, an Armenian word meaning 'prince.' This well-named Ishkhan, served up with horse-radish sauce *à la Georgienne*, followed by boned turkey embedded in a mixture of crushed fresh walnuts and cream, the whole washed down with *kruchon* made of excellent Kakhetian wine, is a typical if minute fragment of a Georgian meal, and one not to be despised. *Kruchon* is the 'cup' of the country, differing from ours in the far greater quantity of fruit that is put into it. Peach *kruchon* is perhaps the most popular form among the Georgians, although, for myself, I confess to a preference for that made with the wild strawberries that grow so abundantly on the mountain sides.

The principal hotels, restaurants, theatres, and public buildings of Tiflis are situated in the street called by the Russians the Golovinski, but by the Georgians renamed the Rustaveli Prospekt. The Golovinski is one of the widest thoroughfares in—I had almost said Europe, for it is difficult to associate with Asia this noble avenue, which would be an ornament to any Western capital. The former Viceroy's palace—now the Georgian House of Parliament—ministries, museums, churches, a fine opera-house displaying the picturesque Georgian coat of arms, clubs, private palaces, handsome shops, compose the street; while to watch the people who frequent it is an education in ethnology. The Caucasus, as is well known, is a mosaic of races, for there has remained behind, in

its deep valleys and remote recesses, a residue of all the peoples who in the course of ages have crossed it to pass from Asia into Europe. Thus there are found in close contiguity specimens of races and languages often belonging to the early ages of the world; especially is this the case in Daghestan, where the inhabitants of adjacent valleys are apt to speak entirely different tongues. On the other hand, a language is sometimes confined to a mere handful of people. I should hesitate to estimate the number of languages habitually spoken in Tiflis, for Tiflis, in addition to its permanent population of Georgians and kindred peoples, of Russians and other Europeans, of Armenians, Tatars, and Persians, and of Nestorians, who wander up from Kurdistan and Urumiah to work as masons, always harbours a certain number of representatives of the mountain races.

Let us for a moment take our stand under the trees that front the Parliament House and observe this very remarkable throng as it passes backwards and forwards. First the Georgians, lean, lithe, and handsome, in their Cherkesski of grey or brown or claret, prince distinguishable from peasant only by the quality of the arms he carries. Sometimes, in fact, prince and peasant are one. An inquiring Frenchman, ignorant of the East, once asked a friend to explain to him the significance of the term 'Effendi.' 'Oh,' said the friend, 'c'est à peu près comme prince en Russie.' The reply would have been yet truer if he had said 'comme prince en Georgie,' for the Georgian title which is translated 'prince' includes both *grande* and *petite noblesse*, and the latter, under the Georgian feudal system, was often merged with the class of peasant proprietors. Then there are lusty Abkhazes and Circassians from the Black Sea Coast, fierce-looking Svanetians or Svans, the 'Soanes' of Strabo, from the southern slopes of Elbruz. The Svanetians' mountain home, wild and rugged like themselves, is so high that it is accessible to the outer world for not more than four months in the year; and the isolation in which they live has kept them one of the most primitive of Caucasian peoples. Nominally Christians, they have a vague hereditary priesthood, and worship Queen Tamara and sundry pagan divinities under Christian designations. Another primitive folk are the Khevsurs, who inhabit

the mountains south-east of Kazbek. The Khevsurs still dress in armour and chain mail, and for this reason claim to be descended from the Crusaders. Be this as it may, one is afforded a very distinct glimpse into the past when one sees some of these stalwarts, armed *cap-à-pie* and complete with shield and spear, taking the air on the Golovinski among a fashionably dressed assembly.

Equally interesting in many respects are the Ossetes or Ossetins, who dwell on both slopes of the Caucasus between Kazbek and the territory of the Svanetians. Unlike these and the Khevsurs, the Ossetes are not members of the Karthlian race; neither, however, are they of Germanic origin, as some ingenious persons have endeavoured to deduce from their taste for beer and the chance similarity with German of a few words of their language. In religion they are divided between Islam and the Orthodox Church, but a strong foundation of paganism is common to both branches; and in their valleys, as well as on the higher sections of the Georgian and Ossetin military roads, may still be seen their sacrificial altars, adorned with the horns of the wild goat. The Ossetes are represented in Tiflis chiefly by nursemaids, but under the Russian Empire they furnished a portion of the Imperial bodyguard; and many Ossetes have risen to high command in the Russian army. Despite the lack of definiteness in their religious beliefs, they are a people capable of considerable civilisation, and in Tiflis publish a newspaper in their own tongue, printed in the curious combination of Cyrillic and Roman characters which they affect. The peasant may be recognised by his round white felt hat, identical in shape with the *petasus* of Hermes; and there is no doubt that the race is of extreme antiquity. The Kabardans and the Ingushes complete the tale of the principal tribes of the central Caucasus; and then we come to the fierce Moslem peoples of Daghestan, who, under the brilliant leadership of Sheikh Shamyl, were for so long a thorn in the side of Russia. Avars, Chechens, Lesghians—these are names that, until the Russians pacified the Caucasus, struck terror into the more peaceful races of the plains. Vigorous and passionate men they are, impatient of authority and alien rule, lawless, ruthless, predatory, and fanatical, yet with a

certain nobility of character, and not altogether lacking in accomplishments lighter than shooting, burning, plundering, and savage warfare. For example, they have not forgotten their friend and benefactor, David Urquhart, whom they revere under the name of Sheikh Daud; while all Caucasians, irrespective of race and creed, dance to the plaintive melody of the *Lesghinka*.

Tiflis was built by the Persians in 379 A.D., and was made the capital of Georgia by King Vakh tang Gurgar sl an about a hundred years later. According to Transcaucasian standards, it is, therefore, a mere upstart among capitals, and a city of mushroom growth compared with MTZKHET, which preceded it as the capital. This euphoniously named town claims to have been founded by Mtzkhetos, the son of Karthlos, and hence fifth in descent from Noah. It also claims, probably with some show of justification, to be the oldest continuously inhabited town in the world. It lies twelve miles northwest of Tiflis, on the Georgian military road, occupying a peninsula or triangle of land formed by the confluence of the Kura and the Aragwa. On the right bank of the Kura, overhanging Mtzkhet from the south, are densely wooded hills, higher and steeper than those above Tiflis; while to the north there opens up the lovely valley of the Aragwa, green and smiling in the river's lower reaches, of surpassing beauty between Ananur and Pasa naur, but narrower and more austere as one nears the Aragwa's source at Kazbek and the pass of Darial of savage grandeur. Mtzkhet is now scarcely more than a village; and its lowly peasant houses look strangely dwarfed by the tall and stately cathedral, which entirely dominates the place and is the principal relic of its former glory.

In the noble cathedral of Mtzkhet is epitomised much of the history of the land of Georgia. Many of the graves of her great men have been rifled and destroyed in the course of successive invasions, but before the iconostasis still lie her last two kings, the valiant Irakli and the luckless George; and the floor of the nave is well-nigh paved with the tombstones of lesser members of the house of Bagration. These display, in all its picturesque details, the coat of arms which associates the Bagratids with their ancestor David. The

four quarters bear the sling that killed Goliath, the harp of the Psalmist, the scales of Solomon, and the Lion of Judah; in pretence is an escutcheon with our Lord's tunic, encompassed by the inscription: 'Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.' The motto is taken from Psalm cxxxii: 'The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David; he will not turn from it; Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy seat.' From the lofty and narrow apse a fresco of the Saviour, reminiscent in its dignity of the Christ in the apse of Monreale, looks down with Byzantine austerity upon the dust of these princes whose descendants are still numerous in the land, links with a past of which most other living traces have long since ceased to be.

Not far from the cathedral is the ancient walled nunnery of Samtavr, with two frescoed churches, a delightful isolated belfry, and the cell of St Nino, a holy woman of Cappadocia, who brought Christianity to the Georgians. An aged Georgian princess presides over this venerable but impoverished foundation, next to the cathedral the most interesting object in Mtskheta, and one of the best specimens of mediæval Georgian architecture extant. In the graveyard beside the principal church I once took tea with the abbess, tea consisting of pieces of fillet of beef spitted and roasted in the open behind the apse, capsicums, pickled cucumbers, cheese, eggs, and wine. On the other side of the Aragwa, topping a high conical hill overlooking the town, is a fortified monastery called Mtsiri, where St Nino is said to have watched the pagan rites of the people of Mtskheta and to have prayed for their conversion. Mtsiri is still inhabited by a single monk, who comes into Mtskheta once a week to buy his scanty provisions. Numerous other monasteries and churches, castles and palaces, wholly or partially in ruins, are scattered along the banks of the Kura and Aragwa, silent witnesses to the past greatness of the ancient city of Mtskheta.

A notable contribution to the medley of contrasts comes, too, from the region which has been known since 1918 as the Republic of Azerbaijan. The name which this State has assumed to itself is in truth somewhat of a misnomer, and is ever causing confusion with the older Azerbaijan, to wit, the north-western province of Persia,

whose capital is Tabriz. Less misleading names would have been the Republic of Baku, or that of Tatar, for BAKU is its capital, and its predominating and ruling race is Tatar. The Tatars of the Caucasus are a branch of the Turkish race and akin to the Tatars who inhabit the Crimea, Kazan, the Volga region of Russia, and Persian Azerbaijan; they speak a dialect of the Turkish language; and, apart from a veneer of Russians in the cities and along the railways and main roads, the sporadic colonies of Persians, Armenians, and other races inevitable in Transcaucasia, and a sprinkling of Sarts and Kirghiz from Turkestan, compose the population of this latest recruit to the number of Moslem States.

Except for the walls of its former citadel, some portions of the palace of the Shahs of Shirvan, and a massive tower known as Qiz Qulè, 'the Maiden's Keep,' Baku is wholly modern, yet lacks the finish and orderliness of modern Tiflis. It is a town of crude and as yet undigested wealth, similar in this respect to some of the large cities of the American Far and Middle West. Thus you will see a handsome public building or sumptuous *immeuble* side by side with a miserable shanty, or flanked by sites as yet unbuilt on; the mixture of styles recalls Fifth Avenue, the variety in the heights of the houses suggests Lower Broadway. All this is but natural in a place of rapid growth due to immense and recently developed riches; what is more likely to surprise strangers, especially those who look upon the Turkish race as one inept in business and of energies purely destructive, is the extent to which those riches have been acquired and held by Tatars. Tatar millionaires are as abundant in Baku as are American millionaires in Chicago; they do business on a large scale, own oil-wells and refineries, build and inhabit houses costly and luxurious, albeit of taste that is sometimes doubtful. The richer Tatar women are well educated, and get their clothes from, sometimes in, Paris; Tatar lady-doctors practise medicine with success and visit their patients in expensive motor-cars.

The average output of oil from the Baku area prior to March 1918, amounted to over 500,000 tons monthly; and in normal times a large fleet of sea-going tankers conveys the oil-fuel from Baku's excellent harbour to

Astrakhan, whence it is sent up the Volga in motor-barges for distribution through central Russia, its principal consumer. The oil-fuel is known as *mazut*, and is a thick dark brown substance—the residue which is left after the kerosene and other products have been obtained by refining the natural petroleum. The kerosene, on the other hand, finds a market in the West; and much of it is pumped across Transcaucasia to Batum through a pipe-line running parallel with the railway for more than 560 miles, a notable piece of engineering. The two main oil-fields of the Baku area are Surakhani and Bala-khani, and in the latter is the Temple of Eternal Fire. But there are no eternal fires here now, as the deeper borings have eliminated the surface natural gas. This ancient shrine of the Zoroastrians is not easy to find nowadays, for it is concealed in the compound of one of the large companies, surrounded and overshadowed by modern machinery. Its vestal flame quenched, its scanty trickle of pilgrims from Persia dried up, this little temple is now a forlorn and pathetic object, an extinct fane of an all but extinct faith. Until recent years a solitary priest was maintained in it by the Parsee community of Bombay, but he, too, has now gone; and the very existence of this once famous place of worship is all but forgotten by the people of Baku.

As Karthlos, the great-great-grandson of Noah, is the legendary ancestor of the Karthlians or Georgians, so is his brother Haik the eponymous hero of the people whom we call Armenians. Haik is the name which the Armenians apply to themselves; Hayastan, the land of Haik, the term by which they denote their country. An Aryan people, the Armenians established themselves about the seventh century B.C. upon the remains of the ancient pre-Armenian kingdom of Van, and in part, no doubt, assimilated the civilisation of its people, who called themselves Khaldians, and have left inscriptions written in Assyrian cuneiform. They emerge into the clearer light of history under the Arsacids, a dynasty of Parthian origin, of whom a branch subsequently reigned for a while in Georgia. The Arsacids in earlier days ruled directly or as suzerains over a considerable Armenian population; but their frontiers had ever a tendency to fluctuate. Thus, in the days of Our Lord, an Arsacid,

Abgar V, was king of Edessa, the modern Urfa, in northern Mesopotamia; and the Armenian historian, Moses of Khorene, relates in detail the legend which has preserved the name of this Armenian kinglet from oblivion. King Abgar suffered from an incurable disease and sent a messenger to Jerusalem with a letter addressed to 'Jesus the good Physician,' inviting Him to come to Edessa and to heal him. Our Lord replied that He could not come, but that, after His ministry was accomplished, He would send disciples to cure the king and to teach Christianity to his people. The scribe who brought back the Saviour's reply painted a portrait of Our Lord 'in choice colours'; and this portrait, in the later developments of the story, becomes identified with St Veronica's veil. After the Ascension, Saints Thaddæus and Bartholomew came to Edessa in fulfilment of Our Lord's promise, restored Abgar to health, and preached the Gospel to the Edessenes.

Although modern criticism is inclined to reject the authenticity of the story of the portrait, there is ample evidence to prove that the Christian faith was brought to parts of Armenia at the very dawn of Christianity, even if not at the hands of Bartholomew and Thaddæus. For some time, however, it made only partial progress; and in the latter half of the third century the Armenian king Tiridates (Dirdat) II, son of Chosroes, was sacrificing at his capital of Vagharshabad to Anahid, the mother-goddess, and Astghik, the goddess of love, to Aramazd, father of the gods, and his daughter Nanea, to Vahagn, Mithra, and Barshamin. There then arrived, so says the legend, on the banks of the Araxes a nun of surpassing beauty named Rhipsimé, fleeing from her Roman convent to escape the attentions of the Emperor Diocletian. With her were Gaiané, the abbess of the convent, and numerous other nuns. Meanwhile the infatuated Emperor had sent messengers in all directions in search of the lady; and in due course an envoy arrived at the Armenian court. He bore a missive from Diocletian begging the king to lay hands on Rhipsimé and her companions, to put the latter to death, but to return the beauteous virgin to Rome, unless he himself should be overcome by her charms, in which case he was authorised to keep her for himself.

Tiridates lost little time in tracking out the party, and, indeed, in falling a victim to the beauty of the Roman nun. He offered to make her his queen, but Rhipsimé, who had refused the hand of the Roman Emperor because he was a pagan, was equally proof against the entreaties of the heathen Armenian king. Tiridates then put the nun and her companions to death with hideous tortures, only to be visited with the immediate wrath of the Almighty. According to the legend, he was changed into a wild boar, and was only restored to human form through the intercession of his cousin Gregory, the 'Illuminator,' whom fourteen years previously he had consigned to the bottom of a dry well for having endeavoured to make him a Christian. Gregory was brought from Artaxata, the place of his confinement, to Vagharshabad, where he converted the king and his nobles, Tiridates accepting, in the words of Sir Charles Eliot, 'in a literal sense the proverb respecting the position of truth.' Gregory now beheld his famous vision of the Saviour descending in a flood of light and striking the earth with a golden mallet. As the mallet touched the ground there arose from it one great and three small pedestals of gold, surmounted by crosses of fire. The great pedestal was placed near the king's palace, the smaller ones over the spots where Rhipsimé and Gaiané had been put to death, and over a cellar where the nuns had previously taken refuge. Gregory ordered chapels to be built over the three lesser sites, while on the greater one he erected the cathedral, which received the name of Echmiadzin, meaning 'the Only-begotten descended.'

Vagharshabad is situated thirteen miles west of Erivan, in the plain of the Araxes, and is reached by a high-road fringed with poplars and bordered by what were once vineyards, orchards, and kitchen gardens. At the outskirts of the village—for such has become the capital of Tiridates—stands the Church of St Rhipsimé, a building of noble simplicity and one of the best surviving examples of early Armenian architecture. It dates, probably, from the beginning of the seventh century, and was, when I last saw it, in September 1920, in perfect preservation. We traverse the single street of Vagharshabad, and arrive at the outbuildings of ECHMIADZIN,

now only partially surrounded by the crumbling mud walls and bastions in which an 18th-century Katholikos enclosed the monastery. For some years before the war Echmiadzin had been undergoing transformation. Wealthy Armenians in Russia and elsewhere had subscribed considerable sums for the renovation and enlargement of the national cloister; and the simple unadorned monastic buildings of a previous age had given way to heavy and rather ugly structures of mournful black basalt. Among the latter are the library, the museum, the seminary, the unfinished new palace of the Katholikos, now used for refugee orphans, and the equally incomplete observatory. Almost the only survivor of the older buildings is the wing of the main quadrangle facing the porch of the cathedral, where the Katholikos still lives in great simplicity. This main quadrangle is of noble dimensions, and affords a worthy setting to the cathedral in the middle.

The cathedral is of the usual Armenian type, having four apses, one at each point of the compass, surmounted by the characteristic Armenian (and Georgian) dome, which is really a polygonal drum supporting a conical roof. Like most other old Armenian churches, the cathedral received in the 17th century the addition of a porch and belfry at the west end, in this case built of a deep red stone and sumptuously decorated. The building is small in comparison with European cathedrals, although large for an Armenian church of the period. The central object of the interior is a canopied altar surmounting the spot where the Saviour struck the ground in Gregory's vision. In the northern apse is the altar used for the consecration of bishops; all bishops of the Armenian Church throughout the world must be consecrated at Echmiadzin. One of the most pleasing features is the arabesque decoration of the dome, the work of an Armenian artist believed to have come from Persia in the reign of Nadir Shah. The treasury is an ugly modern excrescence which the bad taste of the 19th century has allowed to be added to, and to cloak, the east end of the church. It is entered by doors at either side of the high altar, and before the war contained relics and treasures of the highest interest. Foremost among these is the right arm of the Illuminator, which,

enclosed in a silver-gilt case, is placed on the head of each Katholikos at his consecration, and has been regarded for many centuries as the palladium of the Armenian race.

The present Katholikos, elected in 1911, is His Holiness George V; and his full title is 'the Servant of Jesus Christ, and by the incomprehensible Will of God Chief Bishop and Katholikos of all Armenia, Supreme Patriarch of the National, Beloved and Holy See at the Sacred Apostolic Cathedral Church of Echmiadzin in Ararat.' He is not only Patriarch with immediate jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical province of Ararat, but is supreme pontiff over all Armenians belonging to the national Church, wherever they may be. He alone consecrates Armenian bishops; and his office affords a close analogy to the Papacy. So highly venerated is it that Armenians address the Katholikos by a title which is the Armenian equivalent of 'Your Majesty'; the Persians, as we may read in Morier, call him Khalif. In the days of the Armenian kingdom he was in a sense the national High Priest, and for a time enjoyed the dignity by right of hereditary descent from the Illuminator. After its fall he became the ethnarch, the tangible rallying-point of his nation; and so he continued under Moslem rule. Echmiadzin was now visited by Armenian pilgrims from every part of the world, who came to pay their respects to the visible embodiment of the race. 'Forty-seven archbishops,' says Gibbon, 'each of whom may claim the obedience of four or five suffragans, are consecrated by the hands of the patriarch of Ekmiasin; but the greater part are only titular prelates, who dignify with their presence and service the simplicity of his court. As soon as they have performed the liturgy, they cultivate the garden; and our bishops,' he adds characteristically, 'will learn with surprise that the austerity of their life increases in just proportion to the elevation of their rank.'

Among other objects of interest in Echmiadzin are the churches of St Gaiané and of Shoghakath (the Effusion of Light), built on the two remaining sites of St Gregory's vision. Similar to, but smaller than, St Rhipsimé, both churches probably date in their present form from the seventh century, and are exceedingly well

preserved. Another feature is the great pond, built in the last century by the Katholikos Nerses V to the south of the monastery, and fed by a neighbouring stream. During the war, when more than 200,000 refugees from Turkish Armenia were given such shelter as was possible by the monks of Echmiadzin, the stately trees that fringed this artificial lake were cut down for firewood. The site lost thereby much of its charm; but not even this act of sad necessity could destroy the view of Ararat, rising in majesty incomparable with his lesser brother from the valley of the Araxes. Itself in Armenian belief the centre of the world, the Mountain of Noah surveys, as it watches over the destinies of the sons of Haik, that fertile plain where Armenian tradition places the site of the Garden of Eden. Alas, that from time immemorial eddies of blood have mingled with the melting snows on these slopes where, until recently, three empires met. Well, indeed, may Bryce observe that the curse of the flaming sword has clung to the Aras valley. From the dawn of history to the present year it has been unceasingly devastated by fire and sword, spared neither by Persian king nor by Kurdish brigand, the constant witness of the clash between Asia and Europe, Christianity, paganism, and Islam. 'Yet when the storm is past,' continues Bryce, 'the patient peasant returns; he draws water again from the ancient canals whose network covers the plain, and remembers these scourges of mankind only in vague traditions, where the names of Nimrod and Semiramis are mingled with those of Tamerlane and Nadir Shah.' But for the amazing fecundity of the Armenian race, there would have long ago ceased to be any peasants to return to their cotton and their vines in this cockpit of East and West.

One of the most interesting sights in Armenia is the mediæval city of ANI, capital of an Armenian kingdom which endured from the ninth to the eleventh century. I visited Ani in 1920, on one of my return journeys from Erivan to Tiflis, leaving the railway at Ani station, which is a station and nothing else, and taking with me ponies kindly provided by the Armenian Government. From the railway we rode for seven miles westward over bleak country to the modern village of Ani, an Armenian hamlet consisting of a score or so of miserable hovels.

The ancient city of Ani lies three miles beyond the village, from which it is separated by the river Arpa Chai, the Akhurian of Armenian history. At this part of its course the bed of the Arpa Chai is a deep ravine flanked by perpendicular cliffs of black rock, which hide the river from view until the traveller has arrived at the very edge of the cliff. Having scrambled down to the bank, we found the swiftly flowing river unfordable from recent rains, so swam the ponies across and followed in a crazy triangular craft, partly boat, partly punt, which we discovered by a half-deserted mill. A rough track led us from the opposite bank, past a small monastic church in a fair state of repair, up to the plateau, and in half an hour we were at the walls of Ani.

In the days before the invention of artillery the site of Ani must have been well-nigh impregnable. The city is built on the apex of a plateau bounded on one side by the ravine of the Arpa Chai, on the other by that of a tributary, the Alaja Chai. The base of this isosceles triangle is formed by a superb mediæval rampart running from cliff to cliff, a double line of curtain and towers that separates the tip occupied by the city from the remainder of the plateau, which recedes far into the background and is ultimately merged into the plain of Kars. This is the only part of Ani which is enclosed by walls; elsewhere the two cañons, 200 to 300 feet deep, afford better protection than could any ramparts raised by man. At the extreme point of the triangle the plateau rises to a slight eminence, topped by the scanty remains of the ancient citadel.

Like Famagusta in Cyprus, Ani may well be termed a mediæval Pompeii. It is difficult to believe that this city of the dead was once the thriving capital of a strong and flourishing kingdom, that the deserted plain in which it stands could ever have been thickly peopled and famous for the richness of its crops. Since leaving the railway we had seen no sign of cultivation, no living soul except a few dazed peasants at the village. Apart from these, not a vestige of life could be discerned in the vast expanse around us; from his snow-topped heights the mighty Alagyöz brooded over a scene of hopeless desolation. Ani, the old city, is utterly abandoned of man. From the platform on which it stands, now a wilderness

of grass and débris, there rise four or five noble churches—the walls and nothing else. Not even a trace has survived of any domestic buildings, or of the palaces of those who reigned here in splendour a thousand years ago.

I do not propose to enter into a detailed account of these churches, in which the art of the Armenian architect and the skill of his craftsmen have reached their zenith. Descriptions of them may be read at large in the pages of Lynch, although I would add that not a little of what Lynch saw and described in 1893 has since been destroyed by time and neglect and the ravages of war. The most notable monuments are the stately rectangular cathedral, whose pointed arches and coupled piers establish the oriental origin of Gothic architecture, the circular Church of the Redeemer, and, overhanging the ravine of the Alaja Chai, the delicious little Chapel of St Gregory, also circular, or, to be quite accurate, polygonal. These three buildings are well preserved, and their roofs wholly or largely intact; the others are rapidly disappearing. The churches of Ani derive much of their charm from their materials, a pink or terra-cotta volcanic stone picked out with black basalt; and their age, their beauty of design and decoration, and the supreme excellence of their masonry give them a place among the most remarkable specimens of Christian architecture. Furthermore, they are valuable historical documents for a period of which few records survive, for they are covered inside and out with Armenian inscriptions, carved in the fine uncial characters of the 10th and 11th centuries.

ERIVAN, the capital of the present Armenian republic, is architecturally a mixture of old Persian and very new Russian. In the higher part of the town, creeping with its orchards up the slopes of Akhmangan, the *massif* that separates the Armenian capital of to-day from Lake Gokcha, we meet rambling houses of mellow pink brick, laid in herring-bone pattern, and mud walls enclosing spacious gardens; in the modern quarters below, built in Russian times, the prevailing materials are rusticated blocks of grim black basalt. These give to the city of Noah, despite its greenery, a gloomy and forbidding aspect; half in ruins, too, from the devastations of the last tempestuous years, its *khans* roofless, its bazaars burnt

and looted, its roads unmended, its squares dense with refugees, Erivan is the saddest town I have ever seen. One feels that its two sentinels have been false to their trust; that Alagyöz to the north, to the south the Mountain of the Ark rising solitary from the plain, have failed to protect the city committed to their charge. Its population is Armenian, Tatar, and Persian; and, although it has lost much of its Eastern character in ninety years of Russian rule and expansion, a few monuments still serve to recall the memory of its Persian masters. Foremost among these is the Gyök Jami', 'the Mosque of Heaven,' so called from the tiles of its dome, around which the name of 'Ali is inlaid in yellow and black on a ground of turquoise blue. The mosque is of the usual Shiah type, a great court with rooms for scholars surrounding a basin of noble proportions. There is much beautiful brick-work about the place; and the taller of the two minarets is tastefully decorated with polychrome tiles. The lesser one, which is more generally used by the muezzin, is topped, somewhat incongruously, by an iron umbrella! At the other end of the town, behind the mournful black offices of the Armenian Government, is a smaller but similar mosque, that of the 'Ali Khan family, a race of Tatar nobles who at one time were Sirdars of Erivan under the Shahs. Their rambling and decaying but still beautiful palace adjoins the mosque, but had been let by the present 'Ali Khan Erivanski, when I was last there, as a home for refugee orphans.

The most famous or, perhaps, infamous Sirdar of Erivan was the Sirdar Hasan Khan, he whom Morier depicts so vividly in 'Hajji Baba' as a cruel and abandoned debauchee, yet liberal and enterprising hospitable to his boon companions, the boldest drinker of wine in the Shah's dominions. In the all but vanished citadel above the cliffs of the Zanga, where the river makes a sweeping bend in its rapid course towards the Araxes, would sit the Sirdar Hasan, surveying from his lavishly decorated pavilion the double-arched bridge which connects the city with the country beyond. Here, when his playful fancy seized him, he would shoot at the donkeys of the luckless peasants as they wound into the town; while from the latticed windows of a

neighbouring apartment the inmates of his well-stocked *anderun* enjoyed the view of his garden across the river. These windows, now no more, were actually the scene of one of the most touching stories which Morier puts in the mouth of his immortal Ispahani. In the course of one of his marauding attacks on the Armenian villages of the neighbourhood, Hasan Khan abducted a beautiful Armenian maiden on her wedding-night from the arms of her lover, and removed her to his seraglio. Yusuf, the distraught bridegroom, suspecting whither his bride had been taken, made his way to the town, and for more than two weeks kept watch on the bridge in the hope of catching a glimpse of his Mariam. At length his patience was rewarded, more dramatically than he could have foreseen. Suddenly, one day, the lattice was opened, and Mariam appeared at the window and precipitated herself from it towards her lover. A willow growing below the window broke the fall of the intrepid maiden; and Yusuf was able to carry her away, bruised but living. Their freedom, however, was of short duration; the pair were soon captured and brought to the Sirdar.

Here Persian romance gives Hasan Khan the credit for a *beau geste*, which I fear he is not likely to have deserved. Touched by the devotion of the lovers, he allows Yusuf and Mariam to go in peace; 'hearts so closely united,' he is made to say, 'let no man endeavour to part.' It seems a pity to cast doubts on so generous a speech, yet I feel that Morier's ending to the story is more probably the true one. Yusuf renders the Sirdar a service in his operations against the Russians, is pardoned, and restored to this wife with the words, 'Go, and recollect that my condescension towards you depends on your future conduct.' He seems to have appraised these words at their true worth, for when, soon afterwards, he and Mariam contrived to escape, the Sirdar's fury knew no bounds. He sent a party of men to burn Yusuf's village and to bring his family as prisoners before him. Luckily the youth had lost no time in migrating with all his relatives into Russian territory, thus foiling the cruelty of the ferocious voluptuary. It is difficult to feel much pity for Hasan Khan in his wretched end. He died in a miserable stable, his only possession the rags which covered his aged body. In

like manner does a crumbling wall of mud now clothe the corpse of the luxurious palace, where he loved and made merry in the days of his greatness.

One other town can claim to have had a place for a time among the capitals of Transcaucasia. Under the terms of the armistice with Turkey the district of Batum passed into Allied occupation; and for close on two years the town of BATUM was the capital of a province under British military administration, governed by a Brigadier-General and his staff, and rejoicing in postage stamps of its own. On July 7, 1920, in accordance with a decision of the San Remo Conference, town and province were transferred to Georgia; and Batum reverted from capital to its previous status. Truth to tell, it is not a very interesting place. Quite a small town when the Russians obtained it from the Turks in 1878, it has been entirely rebuilt by them, and consequently contains nothing old or remarkable. Many charming villas, however—now mostly deserted—dot its surroundings, for the Russians developed the place not only as a port, but as a winter resort. And a delightful winter resort it must have been before the war, for the climate and bathing are good, and the scenery magnificent, the mountains rising in a semi-circle almost sheer from the sea, densely covered with verdure of every kind. Batum has one of the heaviest rainfalls of the world; and its vegetation is almost tropical. The railway to Tiflis runs for some distance after leaving Batum through thick forest of magnolia and blue hydrangea; and at Chakwa, fifteen miles from Batum, is a flourishing tea and bamboo plantation that belonged to the Russian Imperial House. The population of town and district is curiously mixed. It includes Ajars, the Moslem Georgians after whom this region is sometimes called Ajaristan, and numbers of their kinsmen, the Lazes, from over the Turkish border. Then there are Christian Georgians, Russians, Turks, Pontine Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and a few Persians; while scattered about the neighbourhood are colonies of Yezidis from Kurdistan, a harmless and gentle people who worship the devil in the guise of the sacred peacock, Melek Tawus.

Thus even this modern port, solely preoccupied with

trade, contributes to that extraordinary diversity which makes Transcaucasia one of the most interesting, most surprising, most baffling regions of the globe. Transcaucasia is not the Moslem East; it is not the Byzantine or Slavonic East; it is not the Latin East, where Moslem architecture is grafted so happily on to Gothic in the lands of the Crusades. It represents something far older and wilder, something thrown up by the clash not of an ancient Asia and a modern Europe, but of an ancient Asia and an equally ancient Europe. It is a meeting-ground of faiths among which Christianity and Islam are very young indeed, a place where men pray to God, the devil, the Imam 'Ali, the sun, Queen Tamara, or pray not at all; where an officer may have been an Imperial page at the Court of Petrograd, and worship at an altar of goats' horns; where people regard Noah and David as intimate and not too remote relations; where a man will dress in chain mail, and be a follower of Karl Marx; where a peasant is often a prince; where Tatar ladies spend busy mornings driving their motor-cars from clinic to clinic; where shadowy *Völkerwanderungen* have left their trace in fragments of races, through whom there whispers faintly the voice of a past long since forgotten; where massacres and *coups d'état* are on a scale and of a frequency and intensity that reduce the worst excesses of the Balkans to childish, nay, babyish proportions; where men are of Homeric stature and appetites, women of Amazonian courage; where mythology and paganism are still alive—in short, where the common contrasts of West and East, of town and country, plain and mountain, Christianity and Islam, cut across another series of contrasts that recall the days when the world was in its youth, and Prometheus was battling with the gods to secure their wisdom for man. Not wrongly was the Caucasus held in awe as the home of strange and fabulous beings, the mysterious scene of marvels, shrouded in Cimmerian gloom at the end of the known world; things as wonderful as those which amazed the ancients and enthralled the hearers of the Arabian Nights still happen in the lands and cities about Mount Qaf.

H. C. LUKE.

Art. 5.—EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURE.

OF all the promises made to this country's 'greatest national industry,' only one has been redeemed. Corn production is now left to chance; control of farmer's acts of husbandry has been abandoned; the agricultural labourer is given over to the play of the market and to voluntary committees whose decisions can only become binding by common consent. The soil of England has changed hands. The landlords, who through many years were the pioneers of all agricultural development and improvement, have yielded place either to wealthy townsmen without traditions or to the old-time tenant-farmers who, as a result of a few good years, bought their holdings and in many instances are already regretting the purchase. Corn production is declining; the arable area has been reduced by over 400,000 acres in twelve months. The long hot summer of 1921 must have proved of great value to the bare fallows, of which England and Wales carried some half-million acres; and the state of the land may have tempted farmers to a further effort, but the market outlook is not favourable. The world-acreage of cereals is growing, and the returns are high and likely to increase this year, so that home produce will tend to decline in price, though by the time the miller, the baker, the cattle-dealer and the butcher, the market-man and the greengrocer, the combines and the milkman have worked their will, the consumer will be required to pay a high figure for all farm produce. It may well be that the cultivator of a mixed farm, making a normal return of corn, beef, milk, and vegetables, will find himself compelled to compound with creditors, or close down, while the ultimate price of his produce has enabled middlemen to make a good living at his expense. Co-operation might save him; but co-operation demands a certain standard of education, the standard that will enable a man to understand the movements of markets, the organisation of labour, the causes of fluctuating prices, the various stages that separate the wheat in the sack and the bullock in the meadow from the loaf and the joint of beef on the consumer's table.

It is true that the farmer of average qualifications knows his fields. This one yields the best wheat and responds to one kind of 'artificial,' that one raises the best barley; cows thrive only on such and such meadows; this field bakes, that one is soon water-logged. Such knowledge, and much more of the same kind, form a family tradition on many farms; it is not associated with any reasons that are not obvious. The weather is watched and the hay cut at the right moment, before the ripening seeds begin to drip away; the corn is harvested and threshed as soon as the tackle is available; ploughs are out over the stubbles when the poultry have gleaned. Each month brings its labour. But there is no study of market conditions that obtain at home or abroad. The farmer sells when he wants money; if his neighbours or other people's neighbours are in similar plight, prices fall. If one crop was very successful last year, he increases his acreage, with the result that, as everybody did the same, glut replaces shortage. If the corn was picked up rather wet, it is well to leave it for the March winds to dry, but it is unnecessary to build the stack on staddles, or to wire it round and bury part of the wire to keep vermin away. So the rats come and multiply and fare delicately, eating the germ of the grain and leaving the rest.

The farmer probably has the orchard his grandfather or the grandfather of a contemporary planted, and was the first and last to care for. Lichen and fungus have invaded the trunks; woolly aphis and a score of other pests have found safe harbourage on the apple-tree branches; the plums have silver-leaf; when pears grow, they crack and shrivel. Fortunately, there is a tradition in the family that the orchard never did do much good, and that there is no market for fruit; so nobody prunes the trees, or sprays them in the spring, or washes them in the autumn, or sets grease-bands to catch the winter-moths, or cuts out the plum branches that the silver-leaf disease has destroyed. A report issued in 1920 stated that upwards of fifty thousand acres of cultivable land in the west of England were under worthless orchards.

There are poultry on the farm—the house-wife's perquisite as a rule. She does not pay for the corn they eat, and they have the range of stubble and

stackyard, so that it is her honest belief that they cost nothing to keep. They have no special care bestowed on them, and in the winter months must find what shelter they can. There is no question of selection or careful breeding; laying strains are not heard of; and for half the year the egg basket is empty. Sometimes the foxes waste the poultry-yard, and compensation may be demanded and even paid; but, if the farmer hunts, he doesn't trouble about a few birds—they are his wife's. For stock-raising, the farmer of the type described is not particular. If his neighbour has a bull and the stud fee is a very few shillings, there is no need to go further afield; for his cart-horses, is there not a stallion or two to be found, bedecked with gay ribbons and marching from farm to farm in late spring? A sire is a sire; one stallion or bull or boar is probably as good as another; and much trouble is saved. It is the same with seed-corn. Why go making experiments, when your local dealer has an abundant store? He will guarantee that it is high-class.

So year succeeds to year and son to father, and the machinery of production runs at half-speed, and the good year must pay for the bad one and the work run on through a seven-day week, year in and year out, until, at last, the feeble hands can carry the burden no longer and Mother Earth welcomes her helper to his rest. He may have driven the hardest bargains; he may have been the sternest taskmaster; but, by reason of his natural ignorance of soil-chemistry, food-values, and economics, he has, though he knows it not, been beaten all the time, enriching many a merchant and middleman whom he has never seen. We have in Great Britain a quarter of a million farmers to-day, exclusive of small holders who are nearly as many; in all probability the number of those to which the foregoing description would apply runs far into six figures.

It is well, when criticising the small and backward farmer, whose name is legion, to remember his secluded life and the hard work that fills his days. He sees his friends or acquaintances when he goes to market; at other times his family and workers must suffice him. A daily paper since the war, the county weekly paper, and a trade paper provide his reading matter. He is losing, or has lost, the stimulus derived from a landlord who is

a keen agriculturist. He may belong to his Farmers' Union, but chiefly because he understands that there are two Labour Unions, and fears or knows that his workmen have joined one of them. He does not welcome either supervision or inspection; he has found small profit from either. His memory is retentive; and he knows that, under control, he was required to sell his wheat to the mills for about 18*l.* a ton, and to pay almost as much or more for the offals of that wheat to feed his pigs with, while foreign wheat fetched 25*l.* a ton or over. If he has had swine-fever or foot-and-mouth disease or any other notifiable ailment among his stock, he has had to face supervision and take orders, and he is at heart an autocrat. Yet, with all his faults and merits, he is the staple material of the agricultural community. He makes the mass to which thousands of modern men with skilled methods act in a way as leaven. He must be raised and educated, or, if this work is beyond the competence of any force, however wisely directed, his son must be prepared to carry on along the new lines.

Some years ago the Development Commissioners took up the question of agricultural education; and to-day this side of agriculture remains the only one which can be looked at without regret. The work has been delayed; it has been restricted; it does not deal equitably with all members of the farming community; it favours the fortunate and comes near to ignoring the helpless; but, in spite of narrow conceptions and occasional ineffective administration, agricultural education is full of the highest promise.

The Intelligence Department of the Ministry of Agriculture is charged with Education, Research, and Training, of which the last may be ignored, because training for disabled soldiers is coming, or has come, to an end in view of the limited prospects; and the experiment, though carried on capably at many centres, has always been of greater political interest than practical worth. Horticulture, Live-stock Improvement, and Animal Diseases are the other responsibilities of the Department. The Rat branch was included and then removed to another division, where it has been sacrificed to the economists. Yet it was actually paying

its way, and no other branch of the division could claim as much. On the educational side an expenditure of 2,000,000*l.*, spread over five years (1919-24), was sanctioned by the Cabinet soon after the Armistice; and certain transfers from the Development Commission to the Ministry (then Board) of Agriculture, enabled the latter to grasp the whole of the problem. A Cabinet decision of December 1920 suspended all schemes not already in actual operation; but the financial position has been improved by the grant of a further million pounds* as a solatium for the repeal of Part 1 of the Agriculture Act. At the same time the inadequacy of the original grant has been demonstrated beyond doubt. It has been found impossible to provide for agricultural education over a period of five years at the cost of less than one-third of this country's daily share of world war, which, as we all remember, was between 6,000,000*l.* and 7,000,000*l.* during 1918. To quote reasons is not difficult. A Farm Institute† which cost 30,000*l.* before the war would cost 70,000*l.* to-day; the old scale of salaries, often inadequate, is now absurd; the price of food, service, books, instruments, implements, and the rest has moved steadily up. To put the problem in other words, the 2,000,000*l.* provided by the Treasury is worth in pre-war values less than 1,000,000*l.*

Agricultural Education is conducted by Colleges, Farm Institutes, and local classes. There are nine colleges in England and two in Wales. Oxford and Cambridge Universities provide courses leading to the B.A. degree; and, as a rule, the Colleges are associated with the Universities, though this liaison does not obtain at the Harper-Adams College in Shropshire (where the important arable dairying experiments are being carried out), at the Midland Agricultural College, Reading

* 850,000*l.* for England and Wales; 150,000*l.* for Scotland.

† There are twelve Farm Institutes in the country: at Chelmsford, Newton Rigg, Madryn (Carnarvonshire), Sparsholt, Usk, Reaseheath, St Albans, Moulton Grounds, Rodbaston, Cannington Court, Lysfasi (Denbighshire), and Little Chadacre, the last a complete gift from Lord Iveagh. A Farm Institute has been defined by Sir Daniel Hall as the chief intelligence centre in each district to meet the current requirements of the agricultural industry for information and advice. It gives instruction by means of short winter-courses, generally in two terms of twelve weeks before and after Christmas.

University College, or Seale-Hayne College in Devonshire. At Cambridge the Drapers' Company assists agricultural research; and some of the Colleges grant Fellowships to teachers in the School of Agriculture; at Oxford the salary of the Professor (Dr William Somerville) is provided by the University and St John's College. At the present time two areas lack and are likely to continue to lack colleges; one is the Lancashire and Cheshire area, the other comprises the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford.

In all, we have the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, and Leeds, Armstrong College, the South-Eastern Agricultural College at Wye in Kent, Aberystwyth and Bangor in Wales, and the three already mentioned that are not affiliated to a University. The Agricultural Colleges look after their own special side of agricultural education, but maintain a slight association with other aspects of the problem. They seek to reach the men who have money as well as brains, the men who will decide the future trend of the industry. The course of instruction is extended over either two or three years, and it will provide for the future land-owner, manager, land-agent, teacher, expert, and even official. The first and last of these classes are perhaps the most interesting. The long-established and pleasant business of being a landlord, acting through an agent, monopolising the sporting amenities of a great estate, and maintaining a large establishment out of the proceeds of rent, is dead. Taxation has killed it. Those who cling to their estates, for sentimental or family reasons, can only hope to draw a living from them by seeing that the land is turned to fullest use; and without knowledge this is impossible. So the landlord of the rising generation is at school.

The training of the official is also valuable. In the early days of the old Board of Agriculture, men were brought in by patronage; and, once in, their motto was very reasonably, *j'y suis, j'y reste*. The result is that to-day, when the Board is a Ministry, spending several millions of public money annually, and charged *inter alia* with the realisation of our national asset in the land, it is hard to find in the palatial building that houses several hundred officials a score who know anything at all about the principles and practice of farming.

Experts like Sir Thomas Middleton, now a Development Commissioner, and Sir Daniel Hall, who happily for the country controls the Intelligence Department, must convince or persuade opportunist politicians and case-hardened civil servants. The advent of Lord Ernle provided the Department with a master of agricultural knowledge; his successor, Lord Lee of Fareham, is a statesman, and might have saved the situation had he been left to carry out his work. Education and research were planks of his platform; he demanded proficiency. He showed a grasp of large affairs and small; he inspired the respect of land-owners, the gratitude of farmers, the confidence of farm-workers. When he had demonstrated to one and all that he could grapple with the biggest problem of our time, the feeding of the nation on home-grown food and the rehabilitation of our neglected countryside, he was transferred to the Admiralty. The pity of it!

Between the College and the Farm Institute there is as yet but a small connexion. The latter is designed to help the small farmer, the man who brings to bear on his problems a certain measure of intelligence that would be much more effective if it were trained. Short courses, as stated already, are the rule here; and the County Council is the authority under the Ministry, the Board of Education having delegated a part of its powers. Under the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Act (1919), a County Council may appoint a special agricultural sub-committee from its Educational or Agricultural Committee; but sanction for agricultural-educational schemes comes from the Ministry, which can give grants in aid including 80 per cent. of the salary of the County's Agricultural Organiser, who is also the head of the Farm Institute. At the Institute the two twelve-week courses, one for the autumn and the other for the winter months, are designed to assist the farmer when the call of the land is least urgent. There is no manual training in these courses, though there are dairying and horticultural summer classes, at which the actual work of milking, butter-making, gardening, bee-keeping, and the rest is carried out; but the pupils who attend are, for the most part, women and girls or the lads who are taught what they would

not learn on their father's farm. Certainly the Farm-Institute classes for the farmer's wife and daughter have raised the standard of dairy produce and brought home to the farmer the benefits of milk-recording, the proper cultivation of an orchard, and the improvement of his mongrel poultry. At the winter classes the farmer is taught to grasp some of the problems of crop-rotation, choice of seeds, relative value of manures, catch-cropping, animal and soil nutrition, and elementary book-keeping. Some Institutes are fortunate enough to possess a farm, or have permission to try experiments on part of a farm belonging to some enthusiast who is interested in the result of new developments; and there is nothing like actuality in this kind of appeal.

The farmer has responded to the Institute. If he be young and progressive, he is not ashamed to attend the courses; but, even if he be too old or believes, as so many do, that he has already taken all agricultural knowledge to be his province so far as his own holding is concerned, he is still content that his son should master the 'new-fangled notions.' Consequently, many of the Institutes are working to capacity or even over. The trouble is that the farmer, while doing his best for his own, does nothing for the children of the agricultural labourer. One cannot blame Sir Daniel Hall if the worker's child is not so much as mentioned in his lengthy Report; but State neglect of the farm-worker's interests is reprehensible. There is not even the excuse that nothing can be done. Thanks to the Board of Education, a small beginning has been made by the establishment of four secondary schools with a rural bias. They are at Welshpool, Knaresborough, Lavington, and Blackford by Wedmore (Somersetshire). Here boys and girls, who have mastered the elements of education, are taught the beginnings of horticultural and agricultural theory and practice. Such secondary schools should be found in every agricultural county; and, if they were conducted wisely, the rising generation would send thousands of trained and sturdy workers to the lands, many of them content to work a small holding intensively, and by so doing to increase the national food supply and raise the national standard of health.

A promise has been made that a part of the grant

of 850,000L. referred to already shall go to the farm-worker, who forms the hardest-working and worst-treated class of the population. The nation which, by subscribing to the perilous policy of enclosure, reduced the land-labourer to serfdom a century or more ago, and has in the last few months abolished the Agricultural Wages Board, should seek to make some amends. There is not much to be done to advance the condition or prospects of the middle-aged or elderly farm-hand, but a new world may be prepared for his children, merely by affording them some of the educational privileges which eleven colleges and a dozen Agricultural Institutes confer upon others.

It may be urged further that agricultural education does not give sufficient help to women. There is no agricultural college reserved for women and supported by public funds; and the chief horticultural college (Swanley in Kent) receives only an inadequate grant from the Ministry. In the face of figures provided by the Census, efforts should be made to open still further for women the healthiest and most useful of pursuits. The war showed how well women are able to carry out the work of farm and garden. Already one may find farms and small holdings conducted successfully by women in partnership; and all who have personal experience will testify to the truth that, where the care of live-stock is concerned, women are kinder, more observant, and, generally speaking, more conscientious than men.

Nearly a dozen years have passed since the Development Commissioners promulgated their plans for agricultural research; and the value of these plans is recognised throughout England to-day. The underlying principle is research by subjects. Institutes have been established, and their directors meet on a Research Council, where they discuss and co-ordinate their respective schemes. The Council has been able to lend the weight of a united opinion to plans that call for official aid; but it is worth remembering that the means for research are controlled by the Development Commissioners, though the Ministry of Agriculture is the administrative body. It has been found not only

necessary but possible to pay workers at the Institutes an adequate salary, ranging from 300*l.* to 800*l.* a year, while the Directors themselves receive rather more. In order of practical importance the Research Institutes may be set down as follows: Rothamsted (which is the pioneer establishment), Cambridge University, University College (Aberystwyth), Bristol University (Long Ashton with East Malling Fruit Station and Chipping Campden in connexion), Oxford University, the Reading Institute of Dairying, the Royal Veterinary College and the Ministry's Laboratory at New Haw (Weybridge), the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the University of Leeds, the Midland Agricultural College, Armstrong College, the University College of Bangor, and the Waltham Cross Experimental Station. These Institutes deal with ten subjects—Plant Pathology and Physiology, Breeding and Nutrition, with the soil-problems in connexion with the last, Fruit-growing, Animal Nutrition and Pathology, Dairying, Agricultural Zoology, and Agricultural Economics.

Perhaps the most important work is carried out by Rothamsted and Cambridge University; certainly more ground is covered by these two homes of learning than by any two of the others. Rothamsted, under the energetic direction of Dr Russell, takes for its province the wide domain of soil cultivation and the use of fertilisers. Here one finds the plot on which for upwards of half a century wheat has been grown every year; here, too, we find a range of laboratories, completed since the war began, that are second to none in the world. The study of mycology at Kew, the entomological work of Manchester University, and the helminthological work of Birmingham University, have been brought to the great station at Harpenden so as to build up a study of plant pathology as a whole in connexion with the study of nutrition and environment. There is no need to go into detail about the work—indeed none but a professed scientist is qualified to do so—but from time to time the practical results are published. It may be added, not without regret, that from time to time details of experiments that can appeal only to the highly-initiated minority find their way to the long-suffering *Journal of the Ministry of Agriculture*, where they

possibly help to account for the fact that so many farmers and small-holders fail to support that eminently respectable publication.

The Agricultural Research work at Cambridge University, though still in the experimental stage, appeals more powerfully to the public imagination. The problem of animal nutrition involves vast sums of money; and an attempt is being made to determine the precise point at which feeding ceases to be economical—in other words, the shortest period at which the carefully-balanced ration will show the maximum effect. The work is costly; and it is felt, quite rightly, that the industry should bear a part of the burden, since it stands to receive the whole of the benefit. Passing reference may be made to the researches of Prof. Punnett, who is studying the production of the best kinds of rabbits with a view to establishing breeds with the close textured fur that may enable the furrier to dispense in large measure with costly imported furs. Prof. Punnett's researches into the Mendelian breeding of poultry are also likely to be of great value to the industry; important results have been achieved already. Perhaps one of the most remarkable figures in the world of Agricultural Research is Prof. Biffen (of Cambridge), who before the war had established the main principles of inheritance in wheat, and has enriched the world with some famous varieties, 'Little Joss,' 'Burgoyne's Fife,' 'Fenman,' 'Yeoman,' and others. There was a time when English soil averaged a five-bushels yield of wheat to the acre. Our general average to-day is about thirty-two; the fine summer of 1921 has raised it to a marked degree; but Prof. Biffen can claim that one of the varieties he has produced has actually yielded 96 bushels, though this wonderful result is only obtainable on specially suitable soils and under the most favourable conditions.

The part which wheat plays in the world is so great that it is a matter of satisfaction to find a book that may be said to be worthy the first of all the cereals. Mr John Percival, the author of 'The Wheat Plant: A Monograph' (Duckworth), deals with his subject in a fashion that will probably keep other pens for many years to come from a subject that he may be said to have exhausted. He examines in turn structure, colour,

germination, morphology, and anatomy of roots and leaves, the questions of tillering, shooting, and lodging, and the whole progress of plant development. He then tells us of the origins of wheat, of spelt and emmer, Egyptian Cone and common bread-wheat, and the relationship of the various wheat races. He has also a convincing chapter on the improvement and breeding of wheat.

At the outset wheat was no more than a wild grass, and some authorities believe that this grass may still be found in the mountainous country of Mesopotamia. To-day so widely has the wheat-eating habit spread that there is only one country in Europe and Asia (Siam) in which wheat is not planted; and in every month of the year wheat comes to harvest in some part of the Globe. Varieties of wheat are endless, and bread-wheat is among the most ancient of cereals. When we come to consider how the expansion of humanity in all directions is measured by the food-supply, we see how far that supply is interpreted in terms of wheat. It is clear enough that this simple grain is one of the greatest factors in world-history, and it is reassuring indeed to learn that modern science promises to provide us with wheats of greater productivity and greater resistance to natural enemies. Work on wheat-breeding is at present in its infancy, but the future holds no more important problem for us than this which is being examined by a few devoted men who are known to the outside world only by the results they achieve. Mr Percival's monograph, the result of twenty years' study, is a book of the very first importance, more interesting than many a romance, and one that no serious student, either of agriculture or the world-problems that depend upon it, can afford to neglect.

The necessity of obtaining some support for research from farmers, either directly or indirectly, has led of late to the establishment of the National Institute of Agricultural Botany, endowed by Sir Robert McAlphine and others, including members of the seed and milling trades who, in popular parlance, have been 'coining money' during the past few years and have taken far more of the profits of farming and far less of the risks than have fallen to the farmer himself. The Institute

proposes to receive new and proved varieties, grow them on an adequate scale, and put them on the market, so that it will become the recognised source of supply for all pedigree seeds. It is hoped that the Institute, after a period of self-support, will make considerable profits; these are to be devoted to the extension of research work.

The efforts of the National Institute are not limited to the domain of cereal seed. Potatoes are a crop of the first importance, to which in this country we do less than justice. Our home production is just about enough for home consumption, i.e. some 5,000,000 tons a year. In Germany the pre-war production (1914) was 50,000,000 tons; and this, after supplying the national needs, left a vast residue for spirit, flour, corn-starch, sago, and the rest. The potato-spirit residues, rich in carbohydrates, were fed to the farm-stock in place of the maize upon which we spend upwards of 20,000,000*l.* a year. But then, in England, seventy acres of every hundred are under grass, much of it poor, and only thirty are in corn, legumes, and potatoes; in Germany, sixty-eight acres in the hundred are given to cereals, potatoes, roots, and vegetables, and only thirty-two to grass. Such potatoes as we do grow will come (in a fashion) under the survey of the National Institute, for it will carry out tests for the establishment of varieties immune to Wart Disease—a trouble that threatened only a few years ago to destroy every potato plant in these islands. The late Mr John Snell, an inspector of the old Board of Agriculture, will long be remembered, for it is largely due to his work that immune varieties, discovered by Mr Gough, also an Inspector, were developed; and to-day they can be grown in perfect safety on soil saturated with infection. Sooner or later it is probable that only immune varieties will be grown in these islands; at present, trade interests are permitted to stand in the way.

The breeding of fodder crops (grasses, clovers, lucerne, oats, etc.) is studied at Aberystwyth College, while research in fruit-growing is carried on at Long Ashton near Bristol on upwards of sixty acres. Here cider and perry are made, and the quality as well as keeping powers are investigated. It is hoped, with the knowledge gained, to discover the most valuable varieties of apple and pear trees for this special production, and to bring

about the renovation of the neglected orchards in the west of England. Fruit-tree stocks are studied on some sixty acres of land at the East Malling Station in Kent; and there too experiments are leading to the production of a highly resinous variety of hop that may enable this country in time to produce the light beers that are so popular on the Continent.

The commercial preservation of fruit and vegetables, canning, bottling, drying, crystallising, jam-making, and the rest, are considered at the station in Gloucestershire (Chipping Campden); and classes, for which the charge is very modest, are held at intervals throughout the year, not only for those who wish to take up the work as a business, but for the house-wife who desires to return to the pleasant still-room of our grandmothers. A feature of the classes is that they train in their special work the teachers in domestic economy sent by the Board of Education. At the Waltham Cross Station near London, the questions arising out of cultivation under glass are surveyed; it has been found possible partially to sterilise the soil of green-houses on commercial lines, and so obviate certain diseases and also the constant renewal of soil which was necessary under ordinary conditions. The Imperial College of Science has investigated the action of electric current upon plants; it is believed that small electric currents of very high intensity will increase growth by as much as 50 per cent. At present these currents are available only under special conditions; but, in days to come, when railways are electrified and the current along the track can be tapped to reach the village and the farm, we may find that the new power will change the whole condition of modern production.

At Oxford, where Dr William Somerville, one of the most eminent of our agriculturists, presides over the School of Rural Economy, there is an Institute for research in the Economics of Agriculture, of which Mr C. S. Orwin is the head. It has established certain principles of farm accountancy, by which the average farmer, for the first time in his life, may be able to distinguish between his profitable and his unprofitable ventures. The mixed farm may have half a dozen branches; some make a profit, one or two may make

a loss; if he can distinguish between them by a reliable and yet simple system of account-keeping, the farmer can mend or end the undertakings that do not help him. At Reading, the Institute of Dairying is investigating the factors that make for the economic production of milk and a much-needed improvement of the standard of purity; it is inquiring also into the processes that affect the ripening of cheese.

In a country that has a business in live-stock of estimated value of 3,000,000*l.* a week, animal diseases must claim and receive constant attention. A Commission was investigating Foot and Mouth Disease, but the investigation has been abandoned as hopeless. A serum invented by Sir Stuart Stockman has brought a remedy for contagious abortion in cows; louping-ill in sheep, fluke, swine-fever, tuberculosis, and other diseases are being handled in fashion justifying the hope that, in no distant future, epidemic troubles will be brought under control. Even the rat, which penalises every man, woman, and child in these islands by wasting tens of millions of pounds' worth of food and spreading disease among mankind and animals, is nominally under surveillance. Unfortunately, although we have on the Statute Book a Rat and Mice (Destruction) Act, its administration has been neglected. In theory every tenant is responsible for the vermin on his premises and must destroy them under penalty; in practice penalties are seldom or never invoked or enforced. There is a small Government Laboratory at Mount Pleasant; and it has proved that in carbonate of barium and Red Squills (*Scilla Maritima*) we have two very valuable and inexpensive toxic agents which can be offered in small and tempting baits, the dose that is fatal to a rat being harmless to a cat, dog, or chicken. We lose enough by a rat depredation in the course of a year to endow agricultural education and research on a scale undreamt of; we have the machinery to end the loss, and fail to apply it.

There are other aspects of agricultural endeavour that can claim only a brief reference. By a system of inspection, an effort is being made to check the trade in diseased fruit-stocks and seed-potatoes. Co-operative cheese schools are being established; stallions that ply for hire are being examined and registered; premiums

are given to improve the breed of cattle and pigs; and Recording Societies are bringing many a dairy-herd into repute, by enabling the owner to weed out unthrifty cows. The whole live-stock position is improving, not before it was time, because this country produces some of the worst animals to be seen in farm-land, as well as the best. Experiments are being made in the production of sugar-beet, the growing of tobacco, the reclamation of light lands. The sternest critic of a Department which has no basic policy left, and lives from hand to mouth, must admit, in common justice, that much good work is being done to-day, throughout the length and breadth of England and Wales. Scotland and Ireland control their own agricultural problems and are not considered here.

There remains only one general question that calls for answer. Is the rate of progress high enough? Are we likely, without further effort, to reach the rank and file of farmers and small-holders and speed-up production to the point that our national welfare requires? The answer is, briefly, that the effort is in no wise equal to the emergency. We are faced by the truth that our organisation is behind that of our leading competitors, and that we are paying 700,000,000*l.* annually for food that might be produced at home. The English farmer does not care for, and is not cared for by, the State. In cases past counting he farms an uneconomic unit with insufficient capital, farms 'for Friday night' as they say in the Eastern counties, Friday being pay-day. He raises less corn than his grandfather raised in 1840, when 'artificial,' motor ploughs, pedigree wheat, and economic seeding were unknown. His corn is taxed so heavily by the miller and the baker, his meat by the dealer and the butcher, and his garden produce by marketmen and grocers, that the public supports in affluence those who take no risk, and pays prices that the cost of production does not warrant. Agricultural co-operation is in a sickly infancy; it cannot attract the best brains to its service. Control has failed, largely because it was administered by men who know nothing of farming and markets. Labour has been sacrificed, in the first place, by the maintenance of the grass area, and secondly, by the abolition of the Agricultural Wages Board. Had the Board of Agriculture

retained a reasonable standard of wages, farmers would have been compelled to farm better in order to pay their way. Finally—and this too is a very serious matter—the best results of research are not reaching the rank and file of farmers. There is not and never has been efficient machinery for propaganda at the Ministry of Agriculture; and the little money allowed is not spent to advantage. In short, the chief defects of the Intelligence work are that it has ignored the farm-worker and that it has not reached the rank and file of farmers. If the Journal of the Ministry were handled on popular lines it would not be run at a loss, and it would appeal to more than 5 per cent. of the farmers and small-holders of this country. The profits would enable more extensive propaganda to be conducted without cost to the State.

Had there been no world-war to reduce the national wealth and multiply the national needs, it would be possible to hail the progress of education and research in agriculture with a satisfaction that would minimise criticism. The splendid efforts of men and women, who work with tireless diligence and single aim in our Colleges and Institutes, could be held to safeguard a remote future. Unfortunately our needs are immediate. Advocates of our present drifting policy point out that grass-land accumulates stores of nitrogen that enable it to be ploughed with advantage. They forget wire-worm; they forget also that our war-plough policy, carried out with fine, ruthless insistence by Lord Lee, was hampered by lack of ploughs, drills, and other machinery that no grass farm carries. Another war, with a perfected submarine blockade, would starve us out; another generation must arrive before the present teaching has been assimilated and brought into practice. This is why our progress, excellent of its kind though it be, leaves the agricultural problem much where it stood before the Agricultural Act, now in main part repealed, reached the Statute Book.

S. L. BENSUSAN.

Art. 6.—M. MARCEL PROUST: A NEW SENSIBILITY.

1. *Du Côté de chez Swann*, Grasset, 1913; *A l'Ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs*, 1918; *Le Côté de Guermantes I*, 1920; *Le Côté de Guermantes II*, *Sodome et Gomorrhe I*, 1921. Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française.
2. *Les Intermittences du Cœur* (Nouvelle Revue Française, November 1921).

THE most apparent phases in the evolution of literature are marked by a twofold change—in the intelligence and in the sensibility that find expression in it. The writers of a new period seem to know and to feel more than the writers of the period before them; and these separate developments are bound together in the mesh of a continual interaction. They feel more because they know more. A man who has absorbed the aimless principle of Natural Selection develops a new nerve of sensibility which perceives, isolates, and emphasises the aimless quality in all experience. Similarly, a man who has assimilated the Freudian psychology will respond with a new awareness to every manifestation of the sex impulse in the life before his eyes. Every atom of new knowledge that is really apprehended and digested by the mind serves, if not positively to enlarge, at least to rearrange the mechanism of the sensibility. In life we look for that which we know, and feel that for which we are prepared. The logicians assure us that it is impossible to know or feel anything besides.

But these precisely epoch-making changes in the intelligence and the sensibility, though they mark the historical advance of one period upon another, and serve to distinguish phases of the general consciousness and of the literature in which the general consciousness is reflected, do not necessarily mark an advance in the quality of the literature itself. The changed sensibility will respond to many elements in experience which have hitherto passed unnoticed; it will emphasise, and may easily overemphasise, them. It will be induced to fasten upon a new truth of fact—as, for example, the ubiquity of the sex impulse under the strangest disguises—and to neglect old truths of fact which are not less true because they are familiar—as, for example, that the disguises

which the sex impulse is compelled to assume are one of the essentials of civilisation. So that when we leave the historical or evolutionary aspect of literature for literature itself, the significance of a change in the general intelligence and sensibility becomes dependent upon the degree of comprehensiveness that has been reached after the change. An extension of the sensibility has in itself no literary value; and, even when the alchemy of art has intervened, the complete expression of a new emotion will be far less significant than the complete expression of a comprehensive attitude to life, into which the new perceptions have been absorbed.

The final purpose of literature remains 'to see life steadily and see it whole'; but the definition is insufficient because it may equally be applied to the man of science and the philosopher. The writer sees and recreates the quality of life as a whole, the quality of experience being precisely the element which is ignored by philosophy and science. Only in so far as the extension of the sensibility which comes with an advance in knowledge is made to serve the perception of the quality of experience can it have a positive literary value. By the aid of the new psychology we may be able to detect the working of the sex impulse in an incident of life where we did not previously suspect it; but this power is useless to the writer unless it enables him to seize more completely the exact and unique quality of the incident, as it were to compass its particularity on another side and so make his previous grasp of it firmer. If he imagines that this new side is the whole of the incident, he is merely indulging in the simplification of science. An extension of the sensibility has positive literary value only when it is a means towards the fuller penetration of the material of literature, which is the quality of our experience. We perceive this quality in a new relation; but this new relation does not supersede the old familiar ones, it only helps to complete them. When a young man of eighteen suddenly develops a passion for exquisite clothes and beautiful ties, to say it is a manifestation of the sex impulse is true; it may indeed be for the biologist a complete truth, but for the writer it is a fragmentary and untransmuted fact. Unless he combines it with a hundred other perceptions—of the

quality of the boy's desire to be beautiful, to be unobtrusive, to be independent, to be ideal—so that it endorses and intensifies them, he is an inferior man of science instead of (as he fondly imagines) a superior writer. But if the new faculty of perception is brought into harmony with the old ones, if the new relation in which the quality of experience is perceived does complete and not merely supersede the familiar relations, it changes them all; and when this new complex of perceptions is expressed in a work of literature, the work will be unfamiliar, however great may be its comprehensiveness and truth. Only as we persevere with it and accustom ourselves to the mechanism of the sensibility contained in it will its strangeness begin to disappear.

Whatever may have been our final judgment on the strange novel of M. Marcel Proust, *'Du Côté de chez Swann'*, which appeared in the year before the war—and the book at least had this obviously in common with a great work of literature, that it lent itself to judgment on many different planes—the persistent element in all our changing opinions was that it marked the arrival of a new sensibility. We were being made aware in new ways, induced to perceive existence in new relations. We seemed to be drawn by a strong and novel enchantment to follow the writer down the long and misty avenues of his consciousness to the discovery of a forgotten childhood. And it was not as though his compelling us to enter into and share the process of his self-exploration was accidental; it was most deliberate. Whatever might be his underlying purpose, M. Proust was not in the least like an artist who in making a sketch should leave all his tentative and abandoned lines upon the paper.

The book opened with a description of the hypothetical writer (who might be more or less than M. Proust himself, but whom we shall for brevity's sake identify with him) asleep and waking in the night. In the effort to recognise the room in which he is, he passes through a series of memories awakened by the sensation of that effort, and he proceeds to describe what is for him the archetype of that sensation—namely, his anxiety when a child at going to bed without his mother's kiss. From this central point he

explores the past and discovers the figure of Swann, a friend of the family, whose presence at dinner it was which prevented him from having at all, or having fully, the kiss without which sleep was impossible. He explores all the avenues of memory until they are exhausted, and he has given us a picture, vague in some places and astonishingly exact in others, of a childish universe in which Swann is the mysterious hero and his mother and grandmother the guardian angels. That picture, like the vision of the robber Golo which came from the magic-lantern given him to keep his night-terrors away, disappears abruptly, and the grown man appears again. He is in his home in Paris, dipping a *madeleine* into a cup of tea. Again the sensation, as he puts the cake into his mouth, is mysteriously familiar. He tries to empty his mind of everything else and to leave his consciousness free for the memory concealed in the sensation to emerge. It returns from the past; it is the taste of the sop of *madeleine* which his aunt used to give him. He remembers the moment; he remembers the room; and gradually he begins to recreate another aspect of the past—his aunt Léonie's house at Combray, Françoise the faithful servant, and, above all, his walks 'du côté de chez Swann,' on that side of the town where the road skirted Swann's park. The other side, the other hemisphere of his world, is 'du côté de Guermantes,' where the road, never followed to its august destination, leads eventually to the château of the Duc de Guermantes, the great notable of the countryside and one of the greatest aristocrats in all France. Most of the boy's walking is done on Swann's side, however, though most of his dreaming is concerned with the other. Nevertheless, 'chez Swann' is hardly more accessible than the mysterious Guermantes; for Swann has made a scandalous marriage, since which the boy's parents have never visited, nor allowed him to visit, the house. Only one day, when Swann and his family are supposed to be away, he and his father and grandfather take the short cut which runs through Swann's park; and the boy sees a freckled girl—Swann's daughter—who puts her finger to her nose. He also hears her called 'Gilberte!'

Again there is an abrupt change in the narrative. The story of Swann's love for the mistress he has

married, Odette de Crécy, is told at length. At first it seems to have no relation to the consciousness of the narrator; it must have taken place before he was even born. But, although the history of Swann and Odette cannot have been obtained by any exploration of the mental *hinterland* such as yielded the first part of the story, it becomes apparent that the behaviour of Swann's mind during his love-affair is governed by the same laws that operated in the writer's rediscovery of his childhood. While Swann's passion for Odette grows, hers for him cools; but, in the midst of his agony, his knowledge and memory of their love seem to have dissolved. 'Sentit et excruciat'ur'; but what he has lost he cannot tell, until one night he goes to a musical evening in the Faubourg St Germain. If we had to choose a single episode from M. Proust's enormous book as a sample of the whole, it would be the twenty odd pages describing this evening. In a sense they are too good to be truly representative; but every quality that can be found in them will be found in a more or less concentrated form throughout the work. But, whereas in the rest of the book they are often, as it were, held in solution, here they are solidified into crystals. That complete projection of the sensibility which distinguishes great literature is here beautifully accomplished. Since it is impossible to continue the description of M. Proust's book at length, we may try to give an account of this episode.

Swann, the darling of the most exclusive Parisian society, preoccupied with his love for Odette, has given up frequenting it. When he enters Mme de Ste Euverte's house on this evening, what was once familiar has become strange to him. He finds himself in an alien universe. Of the multitude of lackeys on the stairs, each one appears to him mysterious, and evokes in him an image, from the first who, in approaching him, 'semblait témoigner du mépris pour sa personne, et des égards pour son chapeau.' At last with an accumulated sense of strangeness he enters the salon. He sees a number of once familiar friends, like himself wearing monocles. But to-night their monocles, instead of passing unnoticed, are peculiar; General de Froberville's seems like 'a wound that it was glorious to receive but indecent to display,' the Marquis of Forestelle's 'a superfluous

cartilage whose presence was inexplicable and material precious'; while M. de Palancy's 'grosse tête de carpe aux yeux ronds . . . avait l'air de transporter seulement avec lui un fragment accidentel et peut-être purement symbolique du vitrage de son aquarium.' By these curious and striking images we are made to feel how utterly foreign to Swann is become his once habitual environment. He stands near by a fashionable lady, Mme de Franquetot, and her country cousin, Mme de Cambremer, and watches their strange contortions to mark their interest in the music. Then the feelings of Mme de Gallardon, a connexion of the Guermantes, are described. Then the young Princesse de Laumes, soon to be the Duchesse de Guermantes, enters. Mme de Gallardon makes a not too successful attempt to enter into conversation with her, and is snubbed. M. de Froberville tries to be introduced to Mme de Cambremer's daughter-in-law. The Princesse de Laumes shows her contempt for the princes of the Empire, and catches sight of Swann. He refuses her invitation to Guermantes, introduces Froberville to young Mme de Cambremer, and longs to bury himself in this place 'où Odette ne viendrait jamais, où personne, où rien ne la connaissait, d'où elle était entièrement absente.'

Suddenly the pianist begins a sonata, and Swann hears a little musical phrase to which he and Odette had listened together in the salon where they used continually to meet.

'Et avant que Swann eût eu le temps de comprendre, et de se dire: "C'est la petite phrase de la sonate de Vinteuil, n'écoutez pas!" tous ses souvenirs du temps où Odette était éprise de lui, et qu'il avait réussi jusqu'à ce jour à maintenir invisibles dans les profondeurs de son être, trompés par ce brusque rayon du temps d'amour qu'ils crurent revenu, s'étaient réveillés, et, à tire d'aile, étaient remontés lui chanter éperdument, sans pitié pour son infortune présente, les refrains oubliés du bonheur.'

All the particularity of his love returns with a stab; in a moment of time he recalls every incident of it.

'Et Swann aperçut, immobile en face de ce bonheur revécu, un malheureux qui lui fit pitié parce qu'il ne le reconnut pas tout de suite, si bien qu'il dut baisser les yeux pour

qu'on ne vît pas qu'ils étaient pleins de larmes. C'était lui-même.

'Quand il l'eut compris, sa pitié cessa, mais il fut jaloux de l'autre lui-même qu'elle avait aimé, il fut jaloux de ceux dont il s'était dit souvent sans trop souffrir, "elle les aime peut-être," maintenant qu'il avait échangé l'idée vague d'aimer, dans laquelle il n'y a pas d'amour, contre les pétales du chrysanthème et l' "en tête" de la Maison d'Or qui, eux, en étaient pleins. Puis sa souffrance devenant trop vive, il passa sa main sur son front, laissa tomber son monocle, en essuya le verre. Et sans doute s'il s'était vu à ce moment-là, il eût ajouté à la collection de ceux qu'il avait distingués le monocle qu'il déplaçait comme une pensée importune et sur la face embuée duquel, avec un mouchoir, il cherchait à effacer des soucis.'

After the section of which this episode is the culmination, the narrative returns, apparently for good, to the growing consciousness of the boy. His adolescent love for Swann's daughter; his visit to the Brittany seaside at Balbec where he meets another love, Albertine, and one of the less fashionable but authentic Guermantes, Mme de Villeparisis, and her nephew, Robert de Saint-Loup, who becomes his intimate friend; the death of his grandmother; his entry into the central shrine of the Guermantes by dining with the Duchess herself; his encounter with yet another Guermantes, M. de Charlus—these incidents are the bare skeleton of the three following volumes. But they are treated with such a wealth of psychological detail that a summary of the incidents, however lengthy, could only be misleading.

We may leave aside provisionally the problem of M. Proust's deeper intention, confining ourselves to the suggestion that his literary purpose has perhaps changed or developed in the course of his narrative; for if, as it seems, his main object is to record the growth of a modern consciousness, the brilliant episode of Swann's love-affair, which can never have been present to that consciousness, is in spite of its value in itself an alien element. Moreover, the long and masterly description of the dinner-party at the Duchesse de Guermantes' also exists independently rather than in relation to the young man's consciousness. He was, in fact, present at the dinner-party, but we do not feel his presence there; we

do not perceive the company through his mind. And this objection will hold good still, even if we regard the scheme of the narrative so far as the successive contrasts between the dream and the reality of Swann and the dream and the reality of Guermantes. M. Proust seems at times to waver undecided between the psychological history of a modern mentality and an anatomy of modern society.

Nevertheless, it is better to admit that on a canvas so large a strict subordination of every part to the literary purpose of the whole is not to be expected. We are conscious that a single sensibility pervades all the parts, even though the power of projecting it so completely as in the episodes of the musical evening and the death of the grandmother is intermittent. And this sensibility is our chief concern. The underlying motive which animates, or the law which governs it, is that which appears so plainly in the first volume—the dependence of memory and mental life as a whole upon association. Without the taste of *madeleine*, the boy's past at Combray, without the 'petite phrase,' Swann's knowledge of the realities of his love for Odette would have been sunk in the dark backward and abysm of time. This psychological fact at once governs the conduct of the narrative itself, in so far as it is presented in terms of a single consciousness, and determines the conduct of various characters who appear in it. More than this, the act of penetrating through some present circumstance to a fragment of past experience, which it seems to hold strangely concealed behind it, is represented as a consummation of personality. To enter into complete possession of the past by means of such circumstances is to possess oneself wholly; they are, as M. Proust says, the door that opens upon 'la vraie vie.' This conviction of the writer can be interpreted in two ways, according as we regard the whole narrative as the history of the consciousness of a writer, or as the development of an extreme but none the less typical modern mind. In one of the few indications of his own plan, M. Proust seems to declare that his aim is to describe the evolution of a literary sensibility.

'Si en descendant l'escalier je ravivais les soirs de Doncières, quand nous fûmes arrivés dans la rue brusquement,
Vol. 238.—No. 472. G

la nuit presque complète où le brouillard semblait avoir éteint les réverbères, qu'on ne distinguait, bien faibles, que de tout près, me ramena à je ne sais quelle arrivée le soir à Combray, quand la ville n'était encore éclairée que de loin en loin, et qu'on y tâtonnait dans une obscurité humide, tiède et sainte de crèche, à peine étoilée ça et là d'un lumignon qui ne brillait plus qu'un cierge. Entre cette année, d'ailleurs incertaine de Combray et les soirs à Rivebelle revus tout à l'heure au-dessus des rideaux, quelles différences! J'éprouvais à les percevoir un enthousiasme qui aurait pu être fécond si j'étais resté seul et m'aurait évité ainsi le détour de bien des années inutiles par lesquelles j'allais encore passer avant que se déclarât la vocation invisible dont cette ouvrage est l'histoire.'

On the other hand, the description of his vain endeavour to seize the significance of three strange-familiar trees seen while driving in Mme de Villeparisis' carriage at Balbec suggests a larger scope to this activity of the mind.

'Ce plaisir [the delight of penetrating their significance] dont l'objet n'était que pressenti, que j'avais à créer moi-même, je ne l'éprouvais que de rares fois, mais à chacune d'elles il me semblait que les choses qui s'étaient passées dans l'intervalle n'avaient guère d'importance et qu'en m'attachant à sa seule réalité je pourrais commencer enfin une vraie vie. . . . Je vis les arbres s'éloigner en agitant leurs bras désespérés, semblant me dire: Ce que tu n'apprends pas de nous aujourd'hui tu ne le sauras jamais. Si tu nous laisses retomber au fond de ce chemin d'où nous cherchions nous hisser jusqu'à toi, toute une partie de toi-même que nous t'apportions tombera pour jamais au néant. En effet, si dans la suite je retrouvai le genre de plaisir et d'inquiétude que je venais de sentir encore une fois, et si un soir—trop tard, mais pour toujours—je m'attachai à lui, de ces arbres eux-mêmes en revanche je ne sus jamais ce qu'ils avaient voulu m'apporter ni où je les avais vus. Et quand la voiture ayant bifurqué, je leur tournai le dos et cessai de les voir . . . j'étais triste comme si je venais de perdre un ami, de mourir à moi-même, de renier un mort ou de méconnaître un Dieu.'

Perhaps we may see in the reference to the final and enduring penetration of the hidden reality a hint of the conclusion of the book, considered as the history of a 'vocation invisible.' It suggests that at the end we shall

find the writer, deliberately and with all the resources of his will, concentrating upon that very sensation of reminiscence, the *malaise* at night in bed, with which 'A la Recherche du Temps Perdu' opens. Such a doubling of the consciousness upon itself would make a fittingly subtle finale to the subtlest of all psychological fictions, and present us at the last with a book which would be in essentials the story of its own creation. But for the moment it is sufficient to regard the writer's conviction of the supreme importance of these acts of penetration as dictated by the knowledge of his own vocation, as a declaration that the 'vraie vie' is that to which the writer has access, and rather as a deliberate placing of the literary consciousness at the summit of the mental hierarchy than an assertion that complete possession of the self by this means is the highest moral end, the most perfect *ascesis*, for all human beings.

What M. Proust undoubtedly does, however, is to represent this process of association as dominant in the mental lives of all men who can be said to live at all. A writer's exclusive preoccupation with it is only a completer realisation of a tendency which distinguishes the higher grades of consciousness. It determines, for instance, Swann's attitude to Odette, and his decision to marry her really rests upon it. In more general terms, M. Proust regards the life of man as a perpetual effort to penetrate an unknown—the mind of the woman he loves, the friend he admires, the society with which he is acquainted. This desire is, indeed, the very condition of love. 'Que nous croyions qu'un être participe à une vie inconnue où son amour nous ferait pénétrer, c'est de tout ce qu'exige l'amour pour naître, ce à quoi il tient le plus.' But this desire to penetrate the unknown of others is never satisfied. We live in perpetual illusion; the imagined friend, the imagined lover, the imagined society, the imagined reality, are never real. Suddenly, by a devious way we hear of something said or done which cannot enter into our picture; we are shocked and pained, then we rebuild another picture, no less illusory, and imagine that this at least is true. This recurrent theme of perpetual disillusion, of impotent encounter with the unknown, may be called the philosophical background of the book; and from this angle we

might regard it as a philosophical justification of the art of writing, presented through the history of a consciousness. For, as the growing man turns away from the continual disillusion which is the only result of his attempt to penetrate the reality beyond himself, he more clearly sees that the only reality he can hope to master is his own experience. Thus, to enter into complete possession of the past by the method of which 'Du Côté de chez Swann' is an example is presented not only as the goal to which an 'invisible vocation' was calling a particular person, but in fact also as the highest end of man, 'la vraie vie' indeed. In so far as literature is based upon that method of evoking the past through an associated symbol (which is at least one of the chief psychological elements in literary creation), it is, according to this underlying philosophy, the supreme activity of life.

This concealed motive it is which differentiates M. Proust's book from all that have gone before. The metaphysician might call it the history of a solipsist. But such a definition would be as misleading as all other attempts to find a philosophical definition for a particular work of literature. For, though M. Proust is in a sense applying a theory to experience, he is doing so by the strikingly novel method of describing the process by which the theory was gradually and inevitably formed in the consciousness which applies it. If, therefore, M. Proust's book ends, as we believe it will end, in its own beginning, it will have a unity—in spite of the apparent discrepancy of certain of the parts—which has never been achieved in a work of literature before; it will be the first book in the world that has been the psychological history of its own creation, and a philosophical justification of its own necessity. It will belong essentially to a new order of literature. And that is what we already vaguely feel as we read it. It is something more than a book in an unfamiliar language, more than a fiction of greater psychological subtlety than we are accustomed to. For better or worse, it marks the emergence of a new kind, the arrival of a new sensibility.

This is its uncommon significance. To find an approximate parallel in the history of modern literature we should probably have to go back to Rousseau.

There we should discover the paradox of a man, not primarily a literary artist, whose work revolutionised the literature of the next hundred years. M. Proust likewise is not primarily a literary artist. Nothing could be more significant than the length of the process of his finding his 'invisible vocation.' Like Rousseau, he is ultimately compelled to writing as a satisfaction for his sensibility. The chief point of difference is that, whereas Rousseau was compelled to express his sensibility upon alien themes, M. Proust has been in the privileged position of one who can afford to wait for the truly inevitable occasion. Still, the only work of literature with which 'A la Recherche du Temps Perdu' could profitably be compared is the 'Confession' of Jean-Jacques. There is a real likeness between the driving impulses at work in these books; and a careful comparison might enable us to determine the more important differences between the new sensibility of the 18th, and the new sensibility of the 20th century. At all events a century of science has passed between. M. Proust is not preoccupied with finding God, but with finding 'la vraie vie,' though a previous quotation shows that, whereas Rousseau always identified them, he sometimes does so. But, more evidently still, a century of scientific psychology, of astronomical physics, of the biology of Natural Selection has intervened. The last shreds of anthropocentrism have been worn away. Where Rousseau felt his own isolation, and was tormented by the discrepancy between his dream and the reality, and could not reconcile himself to his isolation or his torment, M. Proust can reconcile himself. He accepts these conditions; he formulates them as an actual law of human existence; and the acceptance has been incorporated into the very mechanism of his sensibility. He discerns in the world that which he feels in himself; he is a Rousseau to whom all the hidden causes of his perplexity have been made plain.

And the detailed knowledge of a century of science is at his fingers' ends to help him refine and express his sensibility. How many times does he use the simile of a camera to make more apparent the working of two planes of consciousness! 'Ce qu'on prend en présence de l'être aimé n'est qu'un cliché négatif; on le développe plus

tard.' By that phrase he expresses in a sentence a truth which lies behind a whole section of the fifth volume, 'Les Intermittences du Cœur,' where, for the first time realising the loss of his loved grandmother months after her death, the young man learns that the uniqueness of our most precious experience eludes us till the opportunity of it is lost for ever. Again, when the boy, occupied with the anxiety of obtaining his mother's kiss, waits nervously at the dinner table,

'comme un malade, grâce à un anesthésique, assiste avec pleine lucidité à l'opération qu'on pratique sur lui, mais sans rien sentir, je pouvais me réciter des vers que j'aimais ou observer les efforts que mon grand-père faisait pour parler à Swann du duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, sans que les premiers me fissent éprouver aucune émotion, les seconds aucune gaité.'

And on the same occasion, having to take the kiss in public, he had not even the time or the freedom of mind necessary

'pour porter à ce que je faisais cette attention des maniaques qui s'efforcent de ne pas penser à autre chose pendant qu'ils ferment une porte, pour pouvoir, quand l'incertitude malade leur revient, lui opposer victorieusement le souvenir du moment où ils l'ont fermée.'

And for a final example we may choose the part played by the Duchesse de Guermantes' tree, which needs to be fertilised by an insect, in the explication of the psychology of the closing pages of 'Le Côté de Guermantes,' and the writer's declaration:

'Mes réflexions avaient suivi une pente que je décrirai plus tard et j'avais déjà tiré de la ruse apparente des fleurs une conséquence sur toute une partie inconsciente de l'œuvre littéraire.'

Such are some of the typical contributions of the science of the 19th century towards the expression of a sensibility shaped by its larger knowledge.

But, in endeavouring to analyse the singular impression which M. Proust's work makes upon us and to isolate the elements which produce the effect of novelty, in trying to investigate and assess its deeply-rooted originality, we are in danger of neglecting the more

immediately accessible qualities of a book which exhibits at least as many beauties as it conceals. It needs no second reading to appreciate the subtlety of psychological observation, the ironic detachment of the writer's vision of high Parisian society. If the dinner-party at the *Guermantes* is a masterpiece in a not wholly unfamiliar genre, in the description of the musical evening at Mme de Ste Euverte's the same lucid irony is perceptibly lifted to a higher plane and made to subserve a complex emotional effect. And, though the biting wit which flashes home again and again through the narrative of 'Le Côté de Guermentes' is of the very highest order in its kind, though the semi-satirical portrait of the *bien pensant* ambassador, M. de Norpois, at the beginning of 'A l'Ombre des Jeunes Filles' is perfect, they yield in impressiveness to the certainty of the single touch with which, in the description of the grandmother's illness, M. Proust sounds the note of the tragedy of death. When the grandmother has had a paralytic stroke in the Champs Elysées, and the boy suddenly sees 'son chapeau, son visage, son manteau dérangés par la main de l'ange invisible avec lequel elle avait lutté,' we feel we are in the presence of a great writer indeed. And besides the command of tragic simplicity, and wit, M. Proust has also the gift of humour. To appreciate this picture of life in the kitchen it is necessary to know that it was an established convention that the servants should not be disturbed at their lunch.

'Déjà depuis un quart d'heure, ma mère qui n'usait probablement pas des mêmes mesures que Françoise pour apprécier la longueur du déjeuner de celle-ci, disait :

"Mais qu'est-ce qu'ils peuvent bien faire, voilà plus de deux heures qu'ils sont à table."

'Et elle sonnait timidement trois ou quatre fois. Françoise, son valet de pied, le maître d'hôtel entendaient les coups de sonnette comme un appel et sans songer à venir, mais pourtant comme les premiers sons des instruments qui s'accordent quand un concert va bientôt recommencer et qu'on sent qu'il n'y aura plus que quelques minutes d'entr'acte. Aussi quand les coups commençaient à se répéter et à devenir plus insistants, nos domestiques se mettaient à y prendre garde et estimant qu'ils n'avaient plus beaucoup de temps devant eux et que la reprise du travail était proche, à un tintement de sonnette

un peu plus sonore que les autres, ils poussaient un soupir et prenant leur parti, le valet de pied descendait fumer une cigarette devant la porte, Françoise, après quelques réflexions sur nous, telles que "ils ont sûrement la bougeotte," montait ranger ses affaires dans son sixième, et le maître d'hôtel, ayant été chercher du papier à lettres dans ma chambre, expédiait rapidement sa correspondance privée.'

But it is not these qualities, rare and valuable as they are, which make 'A la Recherche du Temps Perdu' the most significant of contemporary works of literature. They are precious qualities, but they are in a sense superficial, and they might be outweighed by the undoubted obscurity, the awkward complication of language, in large portions of the book. It is something much more than a dark narrative with frequent gleams of beauty; it is a book with at least one of the qualities of permanence, an animating soul. It is maintained by a high and subtle purpose, informed by a view of life as a whole; and, because this secret fire glows steadily within it, we feel the radiance through the most forbidding pages long before we are able to detect its source. One consequence of this is that, though M. Proust's language is sometimes alembicated to a point of grotesqueness, he has style; we might more exactly apply to him a phrase which he himself has aptly used of a great predecessor, Stendhal, and say that his work has 'la grande ossature du style,' a thing of infinitely more importance than limpidity or beauty in the detail of expression. M. Proust's style, in this larger meaning, is as new and profoundly original as is the sensibility to which it owes its being.

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Art. 7.—THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND FAR EAST QUESTIONS.

1. *Histoire Générale de la Chine*. By Henri Cordier. 4 vols. Paris: Geuthner, 1920-21.
2. *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*. By Westel W. Willoughby. Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1920.
3. *Sea Power in the Pacific*. By H. C. Bywater. Constable, 1921.
4. *British White Book*. Miscellaneous, No. 1 (1922). [Cmd. 1627.]

THE invitation issued by the President of the United States to the Government of Great Britain in August last, to participate in a Conference to be held at Washington, had for its main purpose the limitation of armaments; but it also expressed the hope that the facilities afforded by the Conference might lead to a solution of Pacific and Far Eastern problems. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with the results—notable and far-reaching as they were—which the Conference achieved in the reduction of armaments and in ensuring the maintenance of peace for a long period over a vast region which had threatened to become the scene of another world conflict. My task is the more modest one of considering the work of the Conference in its bearing upon the future relations of the various Powers in the Far East, more particularly China and Japan.

Without a settlement of Far Eastern questions, no limitation of armaments was practicable; and so strongly was this felt that the Conference of Prime Ministers and Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, held at the time in London, was firmly convinced that the Conference on Disarmament should be preceded by a friendly exchange of views and a mutual understanding between the Powers mainly interested in the Far East and the Pacific. At Washington the various questions were considered concurrently; but it was soon realised that they were so interdependent that care had to be taken to prevent the discussions on disarmament getting ahead of the consideration of Far Eastern matters.

The Far Eastern question, as it existed at Washington, was one that had grown up during the last twenty-five years. It dated from the Chino-Japan War of 1894 and the intervention of Russia, Germany, and France, which obliged Japan to forgo largely the fruits of her victory and abandon her demand for the cession of South Manchuria. All three Powers claimed and obtained in quick succession substantial compensation for the services they had rendered to China. Within three years Germany obtained the lease of Kiaochow, Russia a lease of Port Arthur and Dalny, France a similar lease of Kuangchow Wan; while Great Britain reluctantly engaged in the scramble and, to maintain some degree of equipoise, secured leases of Wei Hai Wei and the Kowloon extension, opposite Hong Kong. This was only the beginning of a process of disintegration which had gone on ever since, and was proving not only a menace to China, but threatened, if unchecked within a measurable distance of time, to end in a conflict between the Powers themselves. China was carved into spheres of influence and enmeshed in a network of railway and other concessions, which, under the play of rival interests, retarded her economic development.

The only Power that had held aloof from this unseemly scramble was the United States; and it was fitting that the Conference which was to disentangle the complicated situation should be held under its auspices. The Far Eastern policies of most of the other Powers were largely influenced by the exigencies of European politics; and China complained, not without reason, that she was being used as a pawn in a game in which she had no particular interest. Free from European entanglements and self-contained in its own vast domain, the United States was in the happy position of being able to follow a disinterested course in China. They stood deservedly in high favour with the Chinese as the people who had never encroached upon Chinese territory and had contributed more than all the other Powers combined to the educational advancement of modern China. On the other hand, they had taken very little part in the material development of the country, and their efforts in this direction had not shown any marked consistency or continuity of policy. In 1898, they

obtained the original concession for one of the most important railways in China, only to sell it back to China at a profit. Again, in 1913, one of the first acts of President Wilson's Administration was the withdrawal of the American Banks from the Consortium at the very moment when the Reorganisation Loan of that year was being concluded. The reasons given were that the conditions of the Loan seemed to touch the administrative independence of China and included the pledging of antiquated taxes. These 'antiquated' taxes, after eight years of British Administration, now form one of the chief national assets and produce as large a revenue as the Customs. It is to be hoped that the part which the United States Government has taken in the organisation of the Consortium, and the still greater service it has rendered in regularising through the Conference the whole situation in China, will release some of its vast resources for constructive work in that country.

Great Britain, which opened China to the trade of the world, and had long held the leading position there, had modified her attitude in recognition of the rising power of Japan. For nearly twenty years the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been the dominating factor in British policy in the Far East, and even India had come within its scope. The Alliance was in its essence a military compact, and in that character had proved a most effective instrument in two great wars. It had kept the ring for Japan in her colossal struggle with Russia; and ten years later Japan had repaid the debt she owed to Great Britain by the very material assistance she rendered to the Allied cause in the still greater struggle in Europe. But in preserving the independence and integrity of Korea and China, which was one of the ostensible objects of the Alliance, it did not attain the same measure of success. Korea's independence had vanished and disappeared from the Treaty in its later form, while China's integrity had fallen into a parlous condition. In the opinion of most competent observers, the Alliance was no longer of any great assistance in maintaining the principles it professed to advocate. It was felt both in Japan and Great Britain that with the disappearance of Russian and German aggression in China, the Alliance

had fulfilled its purpose; and that if it was to have an extended period of usefulness, it should be merged in some larger arrangement, to include the United States as a Power which had great and rapidly increasing interests in the Pacific and which regarded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance as a barrier to Anglo-American friendship. Since the acquisition of the Philippines in 1898 and the construction of the Panama Canal, America had been drawn more and more into the orbit of Far Eastern problems, and as the points of contact between her interests and those of Japan threatened to increase, the relations of the two Powers developed a degree of friction which was in urgent need of appeasement. These were the conditions in which the Washington Conference met to consider the problems of the Far East and the Pacific, and we have now to see how far it succeeded.

The Conference evolved four main Treaties and ten Resolutions regarding the Pacific and Far Eastern questions. These were supplemented by several Declarations and Statements made by individual Powers on their own responsibility in explanation of their attitude and policy. The Treaties, which naturally occupy the first place of importance, are (1) the Four Power Treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan relating to their insular possessions in the Pacific Ocean; (2) the Nine Power Treaty between the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, laying down the principles and policies to be followed in China; (3) the Treaty between the same Nine Powers dealing with the Chinese Customs Tariff; (4) and the Treaty between Japan and China recording the terms of the Shantung settlement.

The first Treaty was signed on Dec. 13, and laid the foundation for all the subsequent work of the Conference. It superseded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and substituted for it a quadripartite Treaty by which the Contracting Parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific. Should any controversy arise between any of the Parties in regard to these rights, a joint Conference is to be held for the

adjustment of the matter. If such rights are menaced by the aggressive action of any other Power, the Contracting Parties are to consult together fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the measures to be taken to meet the situation.

Though this is a very mild instrument as compared with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which it ostensibly replaces, it does not follow that it will not be an equally effective means of preserving peace. It recognises the changed spirit of the time and, instead of holding out a threat of resort to force for the settlement of differences, it adopts by preference the reasonable alternative of meeting together and attempting to compose them by amicable discussion. As Senator Lodge said, in laying the Draft Treaty before the Conference, the surest way to prevent war is to remove the causes of war; and this Treaty represents an earnest effort to remove the causes of war over a great area of the surface of the globe by relying on the good faith and honest intentions of the four Powers who made it. Readers of books like Mr Bywater's 'Sea Power in the Pacific' will have realised the gravity of the situation between Japan and the United States; and a study of the Washington Treaties will, I think, convince them that no better solution could have been found for the acute differences that had arisen. The best proof of this is to be found in the cordial reception the arrangement has had not only in England and America, but also in Australia and New Zealand, the Dominions most closely affected by it.

Standing by itself, however, the Four Power Treaty would not have been an adequate substitute for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It covers only part of the ground included in the Alliance; and its complement is the Nine Power Treaty signed on Feb. 6. This deals exclusively with China, and prescribes, as already mentioned, the general principles which the signatory Powers agree to adopt as the basis of their policy in that country.

The Powers, other than China, agree:

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;
2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity for China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government;

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China ;
4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

These statements have a familiar ring, and most of them will be found embodied in Agreements, exchanges of Notes, and other documents which the Powers have concluded at various times, either with China, or more generally, between themselves with regard to China. Several of the expressions have lost much of their original meaning in the Far East, and it will require something more than their repetition in a Treaty to convince people there that the professions of faith which they represent are likely to be translated into practice with greater success in the future than they have been in the past. But there are several important differences which distinguish this Treaty from those that preceded it. Nearly all the previous Agreements were made about China without China being a party to them, and often for ulterior reasons not connected with China. No appeal was ever made by China to Treaties of this kind, which she keenly resented ; and in practice they became dead letters or were used by the Nations who made them to cloak their own designs.

China has now for the first time been associated with the Powers in the enunciation of this self-denying Ordinance, and will be able to appeal to them against any breach of its terms ; while they in turn will be in a position to call her to account for any failure to carry out her part of the contract.

Another fundamental difference between this and all previous Agreements is that the Treaty groups together and consolidates in a unified form the substance of the various engagements which the Powers had entered into between themselves, and for the first time it makes them collectively responsible for the fulfilment of these undertakings. The Treaty is further supplemented by two Resolutions which add immensely to its value, and

will be noticed in connexion with the succeeding Articles, which we now proceed to examine.

Article III deals with the question of the Open Door, or equality of opportunity, and makes a valiant attempt to give a practical application to the term. The Powers agree that they will not support their nationals in seeking:—

- (a) Any arrangement which might purport to establish in favour of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China ;
- (b) Any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government, or with any local authority, in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration, or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity ;

and China undertakes to adhere to the above principles in dealing with applications for economic rights. Article IV virtually abolishes spheres of influence, and Article V contains an elaborate provision against discrimination of any kind on railways.

So far as words go, the provisions are all that could be desired, and, if loyally enforced, should do much to revitalise a somewhat discredited doctrine and prevent for the future the questionable transactions which have made Peking finance a byword. The machinery for their enforcement is furnished by the two Resolutions to which reference has already been made. The first stipulates that full publicity is hereafter to be given to all matters affecting the political and other international obligations of China and of the Powers in relation to China, and makes detailed arrangements for having all existing commitments and all future Agreements and Contracts filed with the Secretariat-General. The Chinese Government is similarly obliged to notify all engagements into which it may enter. The position is further strengthened by the establishment of a Board of Reference to which questions as to the execution of these arrangements are to be referred.

The Powers have tacitly acknowledged the mistakes

of the past and have imposed upon themselves and upon China severe restrictions for the future. They have wisely had recourse to publicity as the only means of coping with Chinese corruption and foreign exploitation. Politicians in Peking will no longer be able to mortgage the assets of the country, or to grant the same concession to two or three parties; and foreign promoters will no longer receive support in foisting upon China Western novelties for which the country has no use. Nothing has been more disquieting in the recent history of China than the light-hearted way in which the Government has contracted loans for unproductive and wholly useless purposes. That it was not always so, the following incident will show. In 1895, when the Japanese indemnity was being discussed, Prince Kung called one day at the British Legation, and on being told confidentially the probable amount of the Japanese claim, he simply collapsed, and asked leave to retire into an adjoining room to recover from the shock. During the great European War the Government at Peking contracted loans amounting in the aggregate to the war indemnity paid to Japan, and squandered every farthing of it in maintaining military forces which are a standing menace to the peace of the country.

The next Treaty which requires a word of notice is that relating to the Chinese Customs Tariff. For many years the Chinese Tariff has been fixed by Treaty on the basis of a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on imports and exports alike. The arrangement is admittedly a one-sided one, which must in course of time undergo modification. The Chinese Delegation put forward a demand for Tariff autonomy; but in the present disturbed state of the country, a concession of that kind would have proved a very doubtful blessing. The import Tariff had been converted into schedules of specific duties, and owing to fluctuations in prices had fallen considerably below the *ad valorem* amount fixed by Treaty. The Conference agreed that a revision should take place at once to raise the specific duties to an effective 5 per cent. basis.

It was when this point was passed that difficulties were experienced in dealing with this complex question. By Treaties concluded in 1902 and 1903 the British,

American, and Japanese Governments had undertaken to increase the Customs duties to 12½ per cent. in return for the abolition of *likin* and other inland dues. These dues have constituted a vexatious burden upon trade for many years, and both Chinese and foreigners have always regarded their abolition as an essential prerequisite to commercial expansion.

To have granted an increase of Customs duties irrespective of the reduction of the inland dues would have been a retrograde measure which would have militated against the attainment of the object contemplated in the Treaties. Recognising the impossibility of settling the question in Washington, the Conference decided upon the appointment of a Commission, to sit in the near future in China, whose main duties will be to prepare for the abolition of *likin*, and arrange, as an interim measure, for the levying of a surtax that will raise the import duty to 7½ per cent. *ad valorem*, with an increase to 10 per cent. on articles of luxury.

Incidentally, the Conference did a very useful piece of work by abolishing the differentiation between the duties on sea-borne and land-borne traffic, which represented roughly a rebate of one-third in favour of the latter. With the advent of railways there was no longer any justification for this inequality, which was originally intended to offset the cost of transportation by land. The alteration will principally affect Japanese goods entering China by rail, which form more than half of the whole amount of overland traffic.

The Commission has a delicate and difficult task before it. It will have to decide what is to be done with the proceeds of the increased Customs duties; and any measures taken for the modification of the *likin* dues will have to be considered in consultation with the provinces, which will naturally require to be compensated for the loss of revenue. The provinces have received far too little consideration in the past. Many of our Treaty arrangements and all the numerous Loan agreements negotiated by foreign financial agencies have tended to favour Peking at the expense of the provinces, and to divert to the use of the Central Government revenues which should have been retained to meet the cost of provincial administration. The result has been

a counter-movement on the part of the provinces which has developed into a demand for almost complete fiscal autonomy.

As to the disposal of the increased Customs revenue, it will be necessary to exercise the utmost care to ensure that it does not go to the support of any of the rival factions now striving for political mastery of the country. The best course would probably be to earmark it for railway construction. The most crying need at the moment is the completion of the railway from Canton to Hankow, to connect the north and south and promote political unity.

It is to be hoped that the Commission will have the courage to resist the pressure, which is certain to be brought to bear, to devote a portion of the money to meet the service of unsecured loans. To make use of Customs funds to confer an *ex post facto* security upon wholly irregular transactions, which were entered into with a full knowledge of the risks they entailed, would encourage a repetition of the very malpractices it was one of the main objects of the Washington Conference to eliminate.

The last and far the most important of the four Treaties negotiated at Washington embodied the terms of settlement of the Shantung question. It represented at least 80 per cent. of the problems affecting China, and upon its successful issue the whole work of the Conference depended; for without it China would not have signed the Washington Agreements and the Senate of the United States would not have ratified them. The history of the Shantung question is fairly familiar to most readers. It had its origin in the Imperialistic designs of Russia and Germany. The two Emperors came to a tacit understanding to help themselves to desirable points of vantage on the coast of China. Russia selected Port Arthur and Dalny, and Germany obtained a lease of Kiaochow, with railway and other concessions. Japan took the leased territory from Germany by force of arms; and in 1915, as a result of the Twenty-one Demands, China undertook to consent to any settlement Japan might make later with Germany. The Paris Peace Conference transferred to Japan all German rights and interests in Shantung. China refused

to sign the Treaty of Versailles, and the Shantung decision aroused a storm of protests in China. For the first time in its history Chinese public opinion became a potent influence, and an outcry from all quarters of the country went up against what was loudly denounced as an act of Western treachery. A widespread boycott of all things Japanese ensued and was maintained with unparalleled severity and intensity. Great Britain, as the ally of Japan and a signatory of the Treaty, came in for a full share of the odium attaching to the transaction; and for a time China seemed to have lost faith in Western justice. The rejection of the Treaty by the United States Senate brought the first hope of relief and encouraged Chinese resistance to the many earnest attempts which Japan subsequently made to come to an amicable arrangement.

In view of the past history of the question, it was impracticable to take it up officially at Washington. But it was felt that the Conference presented an admirable opportunity for bringing the parties together to thresh out their differences under its auspices. To facilitate this, the good offices of Mr Hughes and Mr Balfour were offered to both sides and gratefully accepted. British and American observers watched the proceedings, which were conducted entirely in English. After more than thirty meetings, extending over three hours each, an agreement was finally reached disposing of this vexed question in a way that has given general satisfaction.

During the fifteen years of their tenure of Kiaochow the Germans spent immense sums in developing the Port of Tsingtao, in constructing excellent roads throughout the territory, and in afforestation schemes which engaged the personal interest of the Emperor, and were justly regarded by him as a valuable object lesson to the Chinese. Kiaochow was, in its appearances as in its administration, a bit of Germany transplanted to China. The trade of the port attained rapid development. The Tsingtao-Tsinan railway, 265 miles in length, connected it with the interior; mines along the line were worked with German capital; and the whole province became to a large extent a German preserve. The Japanese maintained and greatly improved the territory during the

seven years it was in their possession. The question which the Delegates were called upon to solve involved not merely the rendition of one of the finest ports in China and of a surrounding tract of 190 square miles, but also the disposal of many millions worth of property, all of which had been the fruit of German and Japanese enterprise. From the outset it was realised that the crux of a settlement lay in the railway. The Chinese had experienced the effects of railway penetration in Manchuria and were determined that the process should not be repeated in China Proper. Without the railway, the rendition of the leased territory would, from their point of view, have been worthless. They were accordingly anxious to place the railway question in the forefront of the programme. The Japanese preferred to take it later, and, as it turned out, this was a wise decision, as it gave time to consider the matter in the favourable atmosphere which the success of the negotiations gradually created.

The Treaty, as finally arranged, is a lengthy document consisting of 28 Articles. A brief summary of its leading provisions will be sufficient.

Japan restores to China the whole of the leased territory of Kiaochow; and China, on her part, declares that the entire area will be opened to foreign trade and residence. The railway from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu and its branches, as also the wharves, warehouses, and other similar properties, are to be transferred to China. China reimburses to Japan the actual value of the railway, which is assessed at 53,406,141 gold marks. To effect this payment, China is to deliver to Japan Chinese Government Treasury Notes secured on the revenue of the railway, running for fifteen years, but redeemable after five years. Pending the redemption of the notes, China is to employ a Japanese traffic manager and a Japanese chief accountant, both under the Chinese managing director.

The Custom House at Tsingtao, which, under the German régime, was exclusively staffed by Germans, is to be made an integral part of the Chinese Maritime Customs, and the staff will be drawn from all nationalities without discrimination. All Japanese troops are to be withdrawn from the railway within six months,

and from Tsingtao within thirty days, and thereafter no military force of any kind is to remain in any part of Shantung. The submarine cables between Tsingtao and Chefoo and Tsingtao and Shanghai become the property of China, which also takes over the wireless stations at Tsingtao and Tsinanfu on payment of fair compensation.

Such is a rough outline of the terms under which China regains control over the principal port and leading lines of communication in Shantung, which, but for the war and the success of the Allies, she had no prospect of doing for nearly eighty years. The only vestige which Japan retains of the dominating position she held in the province is an interest in the railway similar to what Great Britain and other Powers have in other Chinese Government railways; and even this expires in five years' time, unless China fails to exercise her option of redeeming the bonds.

The retrocession of her Shantung rights was an act of wise statesmanship on the part of Japan, and Baron Shidehara was fully justified in stating that Japan had made every possible concession compatible with a sense of reason and fairness.

A word as to China's opportunity and responsibilities. She has acquired a fine port equipped with every modern facility, a first-class railway, and an immense amount of other property which she could never have created by her own efforts. The world will judge her by the use she makes of them. If she allows the railway to fall into disrepair or to become the prey of rival military factions, or if she fails to provide an efficient municipal administration for the foreign business community at Tsingtao, she is not likely to receive much sympathy or support in any future claim she may make for the restoration of similar rights.

It only remains to notice the Resolutions adopted by the Conference, which cover a wide variety of questions connected with China. Foreign postal agencies, extra-territoriality, radio stations, foreign troops in China, unification of railways, the reduction of Chinese military forces, and the Chinese Eastern railway, all came under review at Washington. The withdrawal of the foreign post offices, to take place not later than Jan. 1, 1923,

is a somewhat tardy recognition of the efficiency of the Chinese postal system under its French Director-General.

Japan emancipated herself from extra-territorial restrictions many years ago, and Siam is making considerable progress in the same direction. China, alone of Far Eastern countries, remains under this régime, and it is hard to see how any material relaxation can be made in her favour until, in the words of Dr Willoughby, a very sympathetic critic,

'it is made certain, as a matter of actual fact, and not as one of paper regulation or declared intention, that there exists in China a fairly complete body of ascertainable law administered by a system of courts which by reason of the learning, experience, probity, and freedom from political or executive interference of their presiding judges commands the confidence of the Western Powers.'

As things are at the moment, Courts and Judges alike are powerless before military satraps who recognise no law but force. In this, as in many other ways, China has missed a great opportunity. Russians have been amenable to Chinese jurisdiction for some considerable time, and the manner in which it has been exercised has created a very unfavourable impression among foreign residents, who appear to be more convinced than ever that the time is still distant when their vast interests in China can safely be entrusted to Chinese Courts. As, however, it is twenty years since several of the Powers formally declared that they would relinquish their ex-territorial rights when satisfied that the state of Chinese laws and their administration should warrant them in so doing, it was agreed that a Commission, in which China would be represented, should be appointed to investigate the whole question and furnish a report.

The remaining Resolutions record hopes and expressions of views which will doubtless bear fruit some day, but are not likely to be realised in the immediate future. The unification of railways, for instance, is most desirable, but the construction of new railways is much more important. China requires, at least, an additional 30,000 miles of railway, and at the present rate of construction is not likely to get it for one hundred years.

The weakest point in the Conference was Manchuria. The net result, so far as the three Eastern provinces of China are concerned, is that a few concessions waiving preferential rights in regard to railway construction and the engagement of Japanese advisers were made by the Japanese Delegation, and that Group V of the Twenty-one Demands was definitely abandoned. The latter concession was little more than a formality, since a demand which, according to Prof. Willoughby, 'would, if granted, have made of China a virtual political dependency of Japan,' could hardly have been revived in the atmosphere of Washington.

The situation in Manchuria rests upon a series of Treaties and Agreements concluded during the last twenty-five years between Russia and China, Japan and China, and Japan and Russia. This vast area of 400,000 square miles is traversed through its whole length and breadth by railways, owned, controlled, and policed by Russia and Japan; and it requires only a slight acquaintance with this form of railway penetration in the Far East to realise that the political and economic influence it exerts is beyond the power of any Conference to regulate. I have watched the working of the system in Korea and Manchuria since its inception twenty-five years ago, and can testify from personal knowledge to its efficiency as a means of peaceful absorption. Before the European war, Russian domination in the North and Japanese predominance in the south worked in close alliance on parallel lines. Russia's position was greatly shaken by the war, while that of Japan was immensely strengthened. Japan took the opportunity to exact an extension of the leases of Port Arthur, Dalny, the South Manchuria railway and the Antung-Mukden railway for a term of 99 years. China, on her side, profiting by the collapse of Russia, succeeded in establishing a hold over the Chinese Eastern railway, in which she had previously only a nominal interest. The Chinese Eastern railway is redeemable in 1938, while the lease of the South Manchuria railway runs to 2002 and that of the Antung-Mukden line to 2007. The contrast is further accentuated by the difference between the status of the Japanese settlers in the south and that of the Russians in the north. There are 120,000 Japanese in South

Manchuria living under the protection of their own authorities ; while in the north there is a large Russian population which is amenable in all things to Chinese jurisdiction.

It will be seen from the above brief sketch that the Manchurian problem is essentially a railway one, and that any attempt to assimilate the position to that obtaining elsewhere in China must be based on that fact. Such an attempt was made by the United States Government in 1909, when the problem was far simpler than it is now. The Knox proposal of that year sought to promote the development of Manchuria under a practical application of the policy of the open door and equal opportunity, by bringing the Manchurian railways under a system of international control on lines similar to those contemplated by the Consortium of the present day. It met with a decided refusal on the part of Russia and Japan, and only led to the Russo-Japanese Treaty of the following year, which consolidated their joint interests in Manchuria and formed the basis of their subsequent policy. The Soviet Government, however, shows no marked eagerness to exploit the Manchurian legacy which it inherited from its Imperial predecessor ; and, as China and Russia have to live as neighbours on a common frontier of nearly 4000 miles, it is not improbable that the situation in Northern Manchuria will undergo considerable modifications in favour of China. If ever Russia and China emerge from their present weakness and attain a degree of strength commensurate with their population and natural resources, the position of Japan on the mainland of Asia may become one of some difficulty ; but, in the meantime, she is not likely to be hampered in the vast enterprises on which she has embarked there by the decisions of the Washington Conference.

J. N. JORDAN.

Art. 8.—BRITISH STUDENTS AT PADUA.

1. *Bibliotheca Seminarii Patavini, Codex 634.* MS.
2. *Monumenti della Università di Padova.* By Gloria. Venezia, 1884, and Padova, 1885.
3. *Statuta Universitatis Juristarum Patavini Gymnasii in Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte.* Edited by H. Denifle. VI, p. 309.
4. *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400.* By Heinrich Denifle. Berlin: Weidmann, 1885.
5. *De natione Anglica et Scota Juristarum.* By Jo. Aloys Andrich. Patavii, 1892.
6. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.* By Hastings Rashdall. Clarendon Press, 1895.
7. *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista.* By Antonio Favaro. Venezia, 1911 and 1912. R. Dep. Ven. di S.P.
8. *Atti della Nazione Germanica dei Legisti.* By Biagio Brugi. Venezia, 1912. R. Dep. Ven. di S.P.
9. *L'Università di Padova.* By Antonio Favaro. Venezia, 1922.

THE University of Padua celebrated its seventh century last May. It was founded in 1222, by a migration of students from Bologna, though, so early as 1169, we hear of a school of jurisprudence, kept by a certain Martinus Goxo 'in his house close to the main church of Padua.' It is certain, however, that until the epoch of the Bolognese migration, there is no trace of a 'Studium generale' at Padua.

It is well known that the proper designation of what we now call a University was, in the Middle Ages, a 'Studium generale'; the word 'Universitas' had another significance. The 'Studium' was 'generale,' not because it embraced all the faculties, but because it was a place to which students in general, from all quarters, could resort for teaching—a school open to the student-world. 'Universitas,' on the other hand, in the Middle Ages, preserved its original connotation; it meant simply a 'collegium,' a corporate body of men, employed upon any business and united in a corporation for mutual advantage and protection—a guild, in short. Just as the arts and crafts banded together in a mediæval city for self-protection, creating a code of

statutes to govern the guild, and electing a Warden, a Proctor, or a Provost, to enforce them, so the mediæval craftsmen in the learning and teaching business formed themselves into 'Universities' or 'Colleges.'

But inside this body of teachers and students the question of their relative position must soon have arisen. The Professorial, or teaching branch, maintained that students were merely on the footing of apprentices in the guild; the scholars maintained that the Professors were merely their hired teachers, that the students formed the demand which created the supply, that the Professors had the goods, but the students held the cash; and thus throughout the mediæval world of learning arose a fundamental distinction. The students and the Professors became concentrated in separate 'Universities' or 'Colleges'; and hence sprang two distinct types of what we now call a University. The great 'Studium generale' of Paris, the prototype of the French and English Universities, was developed as a Professorial University, in which the teachers, based upon the Church, held the upper place. The 'Studium generale' of Bologna, by a process we will presently describe, developed as a Student University.

In Italy, except at Salerno, which was a medical school, the Universities, in our sense, grew up round teachers of law. Bologna harboured certain Professors of world-wide fame; and students flocked from all quarters to sit at their feet. The avidity for instruction in law can be explained by the fact that a course of legal studies was obligatory on all who aspired to judicial, notarial, or secretarial employment in mediæval communes. A degree in law opened the gate to a wide and lucrative profession. These students, when their numbers became so large as they did at Bologna, being reckoned at one time no less than ten thousand, represented wealth, in fees to the teachers and in business to the townsfolk. The town, in the hope of fixing the students by fixing the teachers, enacted that Doctors of law must be Bolognese citizens, and exacted an oath from them that they would not leave the city to teach elsewhere. These short-sighted statutes gave the students their power. They were mostly foreigners, not Bolognese citizens; coming either from other regions of

Italy, or from beyond the mountains; they had no citizen-rights and owed no allegiance to the commune, but they banded together as 'nations' for their self-protection against the extortionate charges on the part of the townsfolk. Other cities were always ready to bid for their presence and their cash. Thus organised, they claimed that it was they who had really created the University by their demand for teachers, and so, upon any resistance to their will, they put in operation their two powerful weapons—boycotting a recalcitrant doctor, and thus ruining his income; and migrating, and thus ruining the townsfolk who drew a large part of their wealth from the students' needs.

With these two weapons in their hands, the Bolognese 'University' of Students soon created an independent *civitas in civitate* inside the city. They evolved a body of statutes and, on the analogy of the trade-guilds, they elected their own Proctor to enforce them. The student swore fealty to the Rector of his 'University' and to the 'University' statutes, including the oath of solidarity by which he bound himself to obey the Rector's order of migration *en masse*; he did not swear allegiance to the town laws; and in civil matters he was subject to Rectorial not communal jurisdiction.

The position thus acquired by the Student University at Bologna furnished the type and is the model of all other Italian Universities, including Padua. It was so powerful that it enabled the students to proceed to the full development of the University Constitution. The students for the most part were foreigners, a free company on foreign soil. A native of the Commune of Bologna could not have taken the oath to the students' Rector without violating his allegiance to his own Town Statutes. The 'Universitas Scholarium' consisted of peregrinating students from other districts of Italy or from beyond the mountains, foreigners properly so called. The University of Students accordingly was divided into a Cismontane and an Ultramontane University, each with its own Rector and statutes; and these again were subdivided into 'nations.' The Cismontane University numbered three 'nations,' the Roman, the Tuscan, and the Lombard. The Ultramontane University originally numbered fourteen nations, among them the

'Natio Anglica.' These 'nations' elected the *Consiliarii*, whose functions were to elect the Rector, to assist him in the government of the University, both as legislative council and as executive, and to represent and protect the interests of the various 'nations.' And thus we get the full-grown constitution of a 'Universitas Juristarum'—the Artist Universities developed later but on similar lines—in a mediæval Italian 'Studium generale.'

The Rector was elected for two years. The Electoral body was composed of ex-Rectors, the *Consiliarii* of the nations, and special delegates styled 'electionarii' or 'sapientes.' The voting was by ballot; and the Rector must be a secular clerk, unmarried, wearing the clerical habit, of five years' standing as a student of law, or two years as a teacher, and at least twenty-four years of age. Though the title of 'Rector Magnificus' does not come into use before the close of the 15th century, the Rector's position was in fact 'magnificent' from the very first. At Bologna he took precedence over all Bishops, except the Bishop of the diocese, and even over Cardinals. The *Vexillifer* of the Church and the Legate *a latere* alone had the *pas*. The expenses of the office were considerable; and the salary was confined to one half of the fines which the Rector exacted for infringement of the Statutes, and to fees on conferment of degrees. He was expected to maintain a certain amount of state; he was bound by statute to keep at least two servants in livery; the cost of installation ceremonies must have been heavy. The function took place in the Cathedral. The newly-elected Rector received the rectorial hood or *capuccio*, of miniver, at the hands of a Doctor; he was then conducted home by the whole University of Jurists, for whom he was bound to furnish a banquet or at least a 'wine.' This was followed by a tournament, at the Rector's charges; and the ceremony wound up with the 'vestium laceratio,' the rending of robes, when the Rector's clothes were torn off his back and he was expected to recover the fragments at a price. It is clear that the Rectors must have been persons of some private means; and we cannot be surprised that avoidance of the dignity was frequently sought, even by flight. In fact, the burdens of office led, in later years, to the

appointment of Pro-rectors, who were not expected to maintain the traditional state.

To assist the Rector in the government of the University there was the body of the *Consilarii*, his electors, themselves elected by the 'nations.' At Padua both Rector and *Consilarii* acquired, or conferred on themselves, the right to affix their coat of arms on the walls of the atrium or of the Aula Magna in the University buildings. They did not exercise this privilege in many, even in most, cases; but the walls of the University offer a pleasant field of research to the student of heraldry. The remaining officers of the University were the Syndics, the Notary, the *Massarii*, and the Bedels. The Syndics were elected, like the *Consilarii*, by the 'nations'; and it was their duty to review the actions of the outgoing Rector at the close of his term of office. If he had failed to exact fines imposed by the Statutes, those fines were considered as a personal debt due from the Rector to the University; and the Syndics were bound to exact them. If the Rector himself had contravened the Statutes to the injury of a student or of students' rights, he was liable to fine by the Syndics. The *Massarii* were the wardens of the University chest; and the Bedels were what our Bedels are, only that they kept the matriculation lists and delivered the diplomas conferring the Degrees.

It is much to be regretted that we possess so few records of mediæval student-life, but undergraduates were no more in the habit of keeping diaries then than now, and if they had kept them they would, in all probability, have been lost. We have no mediæval Lauder of Fountainhall. But Prof. Favaro, Prof. Brugi, Dr Rashdall, and Father Denifle, by a careful study and analysis of University-Statutes, enable us to reconstruct the external life at least of a mediæval University in Italy. The college system can hardly be said to have existed, certainly not in the form which it assumed at Oxford and Cambridge. Where colleges are found, they are merely small hostels, erected by pious benefactors, for the support of poorer students. The only exception, perhaps, is the Spanish College at Bologna, which had college rules and a discipline of its

own; but in 1377 the Spanish College numbered only thirty scholars, a mere trifle among the ten thousand students of Bologna. The earliest College at Padua was the Collegium Tornacense, founded in 1363 for the support of six poor law students.

But on the whole there was nothing corresponding to our collegiate life in an Italian University. If the students had any corporate life with its *esprit-de-corps*, rivalries, and jealousies, it centred round their 'University,' Jurist or 'Artist,' and perhaps still more round their 'nation.' The students as a rule lived in 'hospicia,' or lodging-houses; a group of them, known as 'socii,' would club together and hire a whole house, furnishing it, finding their own servants, and regulating their lives very much as they pleased. The rent they had to pay to the owner was fixed by University officials called 'Taxatores hospiciorum.' Only the poorer students took lodgings in the house of a citizen, 'ad cameram,' while young noblemen of wealth would sometimes hire a whole house or Palazzo for their own use, and live in considerable state, with a large train of servants and their tutors forming part of their 'family' or suite. Students who were not 'socii' in a 'hospicium,' nor boarders with a citizen family, hired rooms in certain licensed taverns. The Paduan town-authorities found it necessary to prevent students from occupying hostelries near the city-gates and to reserve for other travellers three inns in each quarter of the town where students could not be housed. No doubt life in a students' inn was anything but peaceful. Gambling, drinking, and brawling largely occupy the attention of the penal Statutes, and fines 'pro vitreis fractis' are frequently recorded. These hostelries took students at a fixed pension, covering the bare necessities of life; all luxuries had to be found by the students themselves. The pension fell due on All Saints' Day and on the Feast of the Purification. During the early history of Padua University the professors hired their own lecture-rooms and paid for them out of their fees. But under Venetian rule the professors became government stipendiaries and were relieved of this burden. University lecture-rooms tended to become concentrated in the 'contracta scholarum' or students' quarter.

Lectures were of two kinds: 'Ordinary,' delivered in the morning and dealing with the more essential of the legal text-books, the 'Digestum Vetus' and the Code; and 'Extraordinary,' delivered in the afternoon and handling the 'Inforciatum,' the 'Digestum novum,' the 'Tres libri,' and the 'Authenticis.' As the Doctors, or Professors, were elected by the students during the fifteen days preceding the Feast of St Peter, and, in the early history of the Studium, before salaries were introduced, depended on fees, or *collecta*, arranged between them and their pupils, they were very much at the mercy of their classes; boycott, 'acroasae impeditae,' or 'sedilia ejecta,' made the lecturer the slave of his pupils. The Doctors were subject to the Rector and to the Statutes of the Student University, and therefore to the will of the students. They were bound to the strictest punctuality at the opening and closing of the lecture, which was usually regulated by the bell of some neighbouring church. They were fined if they skipped a passage or evaded a difficulty; they were liable to 'privatio' or suspension from function and fees; and, to enforce all this, a commission with the truculent title of 'Doctorum Denunciatores' was appointed to watch their conduct.

The examination for the 'laurea,' the degree, was a double process. There was the private examination, which was the real test, and the public examination followed by conferment of the degree. On the morning of the private examination, the candidate, after hearing Mass, presented himself to the examining board of Doctors and was assigned two subjects, or 'puncta,' in Canon or Civil law, and retired to his house to study them, during which process he might be assisted by his tutor. Later in the day the examiners assembled at the Collegio Sacro, hard by the Cathedral, presided over by the Archdeacon, representing the Bishop, the real fountain-head of University honours, and, in effect, the Chancellor of the University. The candidate was presented to the Archdeacon by his tutor, his 'promoting' Doctor, and proceeded to deliver a lecture on his two 'puncta'; he was then examined upon them by two Doctors appointed for that purpose, and might be questioned by other Doctors present. At the conclusion of

the examination the Doctoral board voted by ballot, and the candidate was either 'ploughed' or passed by unanimity or by a majority. Later on, this distinction was marked; the diploma for a unanimous vote being engrossed on parchment, for a majority vote on paper.

The candidate thus qualified to proceed to the public examination, or 'Conventus,' invited his friends, high officials, and the 'socii' of his 'hospicium' to attend the ceremony and subsequent banquet. The function took place once more at the Collegio Sacro, where he read a thesis and defended it against adverse criticism. He was then presented to the Archdeacon, who, in a complimentary speech, conferred the 'jus docendi'; and, in outward and visible sign thereof, he was seated in a 'cathedra,' or teaching-chair, a gold ring was placed on his finger, and the magisterial *biretta* on his head. After this the students of both Universities, Jurists and Artists, conducted the neo-laureate through the town in procession, headed by the three University pipers and the four trumpeters. The newly-created Doctor was expected to send gifts to the Doctors, Bedels, and other officials—robes, caps, gloves, and confectionery to the Doctors, fees in money to the Bedels—and to give a banquet to his 'University' friends.

The migration from Bologna in 1222, which brought about the foundation of Padua University, admirably illustrates the position of the student 'Universities' in relation to the towns. In 1215, and again in 1220, the Commune of Bologna endeavoured to destroy the students' most powerful weapon—their ability to migrate *en masse*—by compelling the Universities to incorporate the Town-Statutes in the University-Statutes, to which all students swore obedience, and threatening confiscation of goods and banishment against the Rectors if they administered to any student the oath of solidarity in case a general migration were ordered by the Rectors of the University.

In 1222 such a migration took place. We do not know the numbers, but they were certainly large. Bologna was nearly empty for a time. The Pope had supported the students in their quarrel with the Commune, and the Emperor Frederick II was exerting all his authority in favour of his own newly-founded

'Studium generale' at Naples. The city of Padua welcomed the influx of students and the business they were expected to bring. Yet within the next six years the students and the Commune of Padua were at loggerheads; and in 1228, the 'litteratorum turma scholarium' proposed to migrate to Vercelli, with whose townfolk they had come to most advantageous terms.

The migration did take place, but not in sufficient numbers to ruin the newly-founded 'Studium' of Padua, which languished, however, under the tyranny of the Ezzelini da Romano. It revived again in 1260, thanks to the recovery of its freedom by the city, and to the contemporaneous disaster to the 'Studium' of Bologna, the result of an Interdict, which, in 1262, drove many students from Bologna to Padua. Final shape was given to the Paduan 'Studium' in the new Code of Statutes, drawn up in 1331, by which it was definitely settled that the University should be governed on the lines of Bologna. The 'Studium' flourished under those enlightened Lords of Padua, the Carraresi, and finally, in 1404, passed, with the city of Padua itself, to the wise rule of the Venetian Republic, whose Senate undertook the government of the 'Studium' through its University Commissioners, the three 'Riformatori dello Studio di Padova.'

The University of Padua, being modelled on that of its parent Bologna, presents the same characteristics of a student University. Each of the four 'Universities'—of Jurists and Artists, of Ultramontanes and Citramontanes—had its Rector; the Rector of the Jurists undoubtedly took precedence, and, as time went on, we see these Rectorships gradually merging, or at least tending to be absorbed in the Rectorship of the Jurists, though we do find record of Artist Rectors. The Venetian government doubtless thought it convenient, if not imperative, to have to deal with only one representative of the students in what had become virtually the State-University of the Venetian Republic. As at Bologna, the Ultramontanes and the Citramontanes were subdivided into 'nations'; and among the Ultramontane 'nations' we find the 'Natio Anglica.' By the formative statutes of 1331, the Scottish and English students composed a single 'nation,' and more explicitly,

in 1465, 'Anglica, Anglicorum et Scotorum natio vocatur.' This union of the two races in mediæval Universities was due, no doubt, to the ancient conception of Britain as a single province of the Roman Empire. The fact, however, that the kingdoms of Scotland and of England were distinct, came gradually to be recognised. The English and the Scottish form a single 'nation' for university purposes, but their distinct nationalities are admitted. In 1534 the Scottish 'nation' was formally separated from the English; but, on the union of the Crowns in 1603, the two became one 'nation' again, and remained so as long as the mediæval constitution of the University existed, that is, down to about the middle of the 18th century.

At Padua a 'nation' was not reckoned 'in being' unless at least three members of that nationality were present at the University. But the non-existence of a 'nation' was not held to destroy the office of *Consiliarius* of that 'nation'; and in cases where a 'nation' was not 'in being,' owing to the lack of national students, the *jus supplendi*, the right to fill that 'nation's' consiliarial office, belonged, in the case of all Ultramontanes, by immemorial custom to the German Jurists—a right to which they clung tenaciously, as it might, on occasion, give their 'nation' the preponderance at the election of the Rector, and therefore in the government of the 'University.' This secular privilege led to frequent friction between the English and the German 'nations.' In 1673, the University Commissioners decided that the *jus supplendi* universally belonged to the German 'nation,' but in 1684, the Scottish *Consiliaria* being vacant through lack of Scots, the Germans attempted to fill it. The English claimed that the right to do so belonged to them, on the ground that the Anglo-Scottish nation was an individual unit, and, so long as there were English students in the University, it fell to them to fill the vacant Scottish *Consiliaria*, and that such representation did not violate the general German privilege. The Bishop of Padua settled the dispute in favour of the English 'nation.'

The first English Rector of whom we have record is John Chelworth, Archdeacon of Lincoln, elected in 1407; and he is followed by a Thomas or Selvaggius de Anglia,

of uncertain identity. Then comes a long interval, down to 1604, when Ludovic Evans was elected Rector, and named Richard Willoughby, Galileo's friend, as his Vice-Rector. From this period onwards, either because of the expense involved in holding the office, or for some other reason, we find that Rectors cease to be elected, and their place is taken by Pro-rectors. During the Pro-rectorship of Henry Lindsay, a Scot, elected in 1640, it was found that the University silver mace had been pawned. The Pro-rector was so shocked that he insisted on the Jurists redeeming the mace and passing a statute which forbade the recurrence of the scandal. Lindsay's coat of arms may be seen in the atrium of the Bò, the name by which the University buildings are known to this day. When Richard Collins was Pro-rector in 1688, the Senate of the Republic abolished the right of the Rectors, Pro-rectors, and *Consiliarii*, 'porre memorie in Bue,' that is, the right to affix their arms and inscription on the walls of the Bò. Collins went to Venice to defend the ancient University privilege, but the Senate refused to cancel their decree.

Padua University was famous from the first as a school of Jurisprudence, and during the 16th century it also acquired a world-wide reputation as a school of medicine, thanks to the presence of such distinguished teachers as Vesalius, Fallopius, Realdo Colombo, and Fabricius of Aquapendente. The faculty of Law and the faculty of Arts, under which was included medicine, drew to the Venetian University such illustrious personages as Reginald Pole, who entered as student in 1521; known and fêted as 'the King of England's cousin,' or as 'Monsignor d'Inghilterra.' Pole came to Padua with a large train of servants, and occupied a house of his own. He remained five years at the University, but we do not know whether he took his degree. Francis Walsingham was *Consiliarius* for the English nation in 1555; and Harvey received his degree in 1602; and, on the strength of that diploma, Cambridge incorporated him in its Doctorate, a proof of the high esteem in which the Paduan 'laurea' was held.

There was another reason, however, which served to attract not only Englishmen but all Protestant students to Padua during the 16th and 17th centuries. The

enlightened government of the Venetian Republic, with a view to stimulating concourse to its University, permitted a far larger freedom on religious matters than could be found in any other Italian seminary. Not only were non-Catholic students safe from molestation, but they had the privilege of burial in the Church of the Eremitani, a privilege based, no doubt, upon the ancient right of the German 'nation,' in pre-reformation days, to sepulture in the Eremitani or at S. Sophia. Richard Cave, who was *Consiliarius* of the Anglo-Scottish 'nation' in 1607, died in Padua in August of that year; and Sir Henry Wotton, English Ambassador at Venice, reports to Lord Salisbury, on the last day of August, that the body had been brought from Padua to Venice and conveyed thence to Malamocco, where it was buried at sea, as Sir Henry Rochester's had been shortly before. 'He might,' says Wotton, 'doubtless have been buried in any of the churches here, or we might, without public leave, have found means to lay him in the Eremitani at Padua, where the alamaigns of all religions are buried with Popish rites'; but, as Cave 'hated foreign fooleries,' he was committed to the Adriatic at Malamocco.

It was soon after this, and perhaps in consequence of it, that, through the negotiations of Sir Henry Wotton, and at the request of King James, a burial-ground at San Nicolò del Lido was conceded to non-Catholic foreigners. Later, in February 1721, a young Scot, Andrew Wauchope, only son of William Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal, was killed in a duel at Padua and buried 'in the Monastery of Padua,' which we may presume to have been the Eremitani. It is certain, however, that such privilege did not secure for Protestants the *requiem æternam* of an unrefined grave. Not so many years ago the Dutch Government sent a man-of-war to bring back, from a tomb in the Eremitani, the remains of a young Prince of the House of Nassau, known to have been buried there. The tomb was opened, but the bones it contained were not human.

The matriculation books of the Jurists belonging to the Anglo-Scottish 'nation' have been published with an interesting study of the subject by Prof. J. A. Andrich. They begin with a William Hanrod of Lincoln in 1373; and, down to the close of the 16th century, the entries

usually conveyed some record of personal marks, scars, warts, malformations, or colour of hair; for example, on March 28, 1595/6, 'Rogerius Comes Rus[t]landiæ' is entered 'habens unguem læsam pollicis dextri.'

The Artists' matriculation lists are missing; but in the Library of the Episcopal Seminary at Padua is a volume, Codex 634, which contains the autograph signatures of British subjects, English, Scottish, or Irish, who visited Padua University, either as students or as tourists, between the years 1618 and 1765. The list has recently been published in a volume of 'Memorial Studies,' issued to celebrate the centenary. It is clear that this register was originally intended to record the names of all those British students who had been matriculated, either as Jurists or Artists, and then enrolled in the Anglo-Scottish 'nation,' after paying the entrance-fee of eighteen Venetian lire to the Bedel of the 'nation,' whose duty it was to keep the roll. But, as time went on, the character of the book changes. It ceases to be exclusively a list of students, and comes to include the names of British tourists, artists, statesmen, men of science and men of letters who visited the University, and from whom, no doubt, the Bedel exacted his fee.

The entries number over two thousand and are all autographs, which very much enhances their value, and they include such interesting signatures as those of Jos. Addison, Grahame Claverous (*sic*), Rochester, Montros, Henry St John, Juxon, of many other English and Scottish noblemen, and many members of the Royal Society of London. Under the date March 3, 1700, we find evidence of the secular relations which bound the Universities of Oxford and Padua; a certain Mr Talbot Stoner has been charged by the University of Oxford to convey to the Bedel of the Anglo-Scottish 'nation' at Padua a donation of money

'ne interiret demum vetus illa necessitudo quæ sorores inter Oxoniensem et Patavinianam Universitates semper intercessit, Alma Oxoniensis auri munusculum Anglicæ nationi Bidello perferendum commisit. Fidem liberavit, munus obtulit Talbot Stoner.'

HORATIO F. BROWN.

Art. 9.—THE OUTLOOK IN INDIA.

THE lurid manifestations of the Non-Cooperation movement have sensibly abated during the last two or three months, and flaring headlines about India have vanished from our newspapers. With other 'sensations' to turn to, people in this country are inclined to assume that, Gandhi having been arrested and Mr Montagu dismissed from the India Office—though there was no connexion whatever between the two events—the dark clouds which had gathered on the Indian horizon have happily dispersed, and that nothing more than a continuance of 'firm' government is required to restore the Indian people to a proper mood of placid contentment.

The surface waters are certainly less stormy. The belief had begun to gain ground in India, just as before the Mutiny, that the days of the British *raj* were numbered. When Lord Reading went out, he had more to learn than he was perhaps aware of. He promptly invited the apostle of Non-Cooperation to Simla and parleyed with him for a week, the one visible result being, not that the Viceroy had definitely prescribed to Gandhi the limits within which Non-Cooperation could be tolerated, but that Gandhi openly proclaimed a boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit as soon as it was officially announced. The rebuff to Lord Reading was all the more marked in that the visit was known to have been sanctioned from home on the Viceroy's insistent advice. Lord Reading was just as openly flouted by the Ali brothers, who for a time escaped prosecution by his acceptance of obviously fallacious 'assurances' of which they promptly demonstrated the futility by importing greater violence than ever into their Caliphate propaganda, until it culminated in the Moplah rising and the appalling outburst of Mohamedan fanaticism, of which the defenceless Hindus of the Malabar coast, who had never heard of the Treaty of Sèvres, had to bear the brunt. Gandhi's *Swaraj* propaganda, which appealed more to the Hindus than to the Mohamedans, permeated the peasantry, who were taught to believe—and how could they refuse to believe so saintly an ascetic?—that, with the advent of *Swaraj*, of which he eluded any precise definition, they would, if tenants, no longer have to

pay any rents; if they were landless labourers, they would be able to help themselves to their employers' lands; if they were small *ryotwari* landowners, there would be no more land-tax. To the turbulent *badmash* element which has always existed in every Indian town, *Swaraj* meant simply the promise of all the most delectable forms of lawlessness. The local Non-Cooperation leaders set up their own organisations with their own bodies of 'Volunteers,' roughly disciplined and armed, and often wielded more effective authority than the District Officers and the small police force at their disposal. In some parts of the United Provinces, for instance, agrarian discontent, based, it must be admitted, on many legitimate grievances too long unredressed, broke out into widespread disturbances and the wanton burning of large tracts of State forests. In the Madras Presidency whole villages were worked up to refuse payment of land-tax. Curiously symptomatic was in some places the renewed resistance to vaccination and the refusal of customary local transport to all officials, even for the most urgent measures against cholera. Labour troubles and especially railway strikes assumed menacing proportions, and were clearly directed to subversive and not to economic ends. A general revolt against every form of authority was in the air.

Warnings from provincial governments to their local officers produced little effect at Delhi or Simla, until the Government of India was confronted with riots or threats of riots in many places scheduled for the Prince's tour. Such ghastly occurrences as those at Chauri-Chaura could not be hushed up; but very little news has been allowed to leak out of the less glaring instances of lawlessness and terrorism to which, for months together, Non-Cooperators subjected not only isolated European communities but all law-abiding Indians, too, who refused to toe the *Swaraj*-cum-Caliphate line. As a friend, not usually an alarmist, wrote to me some six months ago: 'Things are coming here to much the same pass as in Russia during the Kerensky stage of the Revolution, and if nothing is done to arrest the disintegration of all authority, we may very soon slide down into Bolshevism.' The Prince's visit, however, compelled Government to tighten the reins if only, in

the first place, to avert a repetition of the disgraceful scenes which marred his arrival in Bombay, and in a less degree in Madras. It was gradually driven to realise that the first duty of a Government—whether composed entirely of Europeans as it was formerly, or partly of Europeans and partly of Indians as it is now, or entirely of Indians as it may be when India has attained Dominion self-government—is to govern, i.e. to secure law and order and safety for every peaceful citizen from intimidation and violence. A sustained endeavour has now been made to set the law in motion, not only against obscure offenders who were often merely the ignorant tools of the leading agitators, but against the latter as well. Large numbers have been arrested, prosecuted, and convicted, and most of the local organisations and their 'Volunteer' corps broken up, and, in the worst districts, considerable bodies of troops have been marched through the country as an ocular demonstration to the unruly masses that constitutional changes do not mean the abdication of the *Raj*.

These drastic measures have been effective. Gandhi's arrest, when the Viceroy, who had long been given a free hand, at last authorised it, created little excitement. But it was none the less a definite set-back to the *Swaraj* wing of Non-Cooperation, which was left, for the time being at least, without any leader to wear his mantle. The rump of the Indian National Congress, which only a few months ago was ready to invest him with the powers of a dictator, still whistles to keep up its courage, but it is clearly disintegrating; and those who traded upon his saintliness in the hope of precipitating a great political upheaval, are realising that, like many other short cuts, Non-Cooperation as a short cut to revolution has been a failure. Not so, however, the Caliphate or Mohamedan wing of the Non-Cooperation movement. It has the satisfaction of having seen a large part of its programme in connexion with the Turkish settlement endorsed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State; and, if Mr Montagu stumbled into a pitfall for his pains, Lord Reading, who had, of course quite unwittingly, helped to push him into it, remained to uphold the policy which the Secretary of State was dismissed for having ventured to make public in a manner

repugnant to the canons of Cabinet procedure. An agitation which can boast such a large measure of success in shaping the policy of the British Government on a great international issue is not likely to die down because it has been shorn of some of its leaders and, if the Ali brothers' career was cut short even before Gandhi's, they got off—such are the mysterious uncertainties of the law—with a much shorter term of imprisonment than Gandhi did a few months later, though he, at any rate, is an honest, if very mischievous, dreamer, and always professed, however paradoxically, to abhor violence. If any stay-at-home Englishman wants to realise the white heat to which Mohamedan passion has been worked up, let him read Mr Edmund Candler's last book 'Abdication,' a grim study from life of the psychology of present-day racial hatred in India, and of the methods by which the Caliphate leaders disseminated the virus—stories eagerly swallowed of 'the Mohamedan sepoy who fell at Ctesiphon, and whose face became as the snout of a pig,' or of the English soldiers remaining in Baghdad and Jerusalem, 'swilling wine, defiling the House of God, violating Moslem women,' whilst Indian Mohamedans were sent forward 'to slay their Turkish brothers,' and, as a constant refrain for Hindus as well as for Mohamedans, the tale of Jullianwala, ghastly enough in itself, and distorted and loaded with a nauseating wealth of imaginary details.

Less elaborate, but not less forcible, than Mr Candler's picture of the Caliphate campaign, was Sir William Vincent's indictment of its leaders in the National Assembly at Delhi when he was goaded, a few weeks ago, into blurting out the truth by a Mohamedan member who ventured to move for the release of Mohamed and Shaukat Ali. The language of the Home Member of the Government of India is worth quoting in full:

'When I think of the treasonable practices of these two men [the Ali brothers] during the Great War when the fate of the Empire was at stake; when I think of the secret support and encouragement they gave to the King's enemies when hundreds of thousands of British and Indian soldiers were daily risking and sacrificing their lives; when I think of the poor *Muhajirin* [Mohamedans whom the Ali brothers persuaded to emigrate *en masse* out of an "Infidel"-ruled India

into Afghanistan] whose bones are lying about the Khyber and on the road to Kabul because they listened to these two men who themselves never did a *Hijrat* [pilgrimage] further than Paris and London; when I think of the money extorted from the poor Mohamedans of this country and squandered in Europe and elsewhere of which no recorded account has ever been published up to this day; when I think lastly of the unfortunate Hindus dishonoured and killed in Malabar, and the Moplahs themselves, innocent in a way because misled, driven to death and ruin at the instigation of Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, and those who think with them, I marvel at the gross ignorance and folly of the Moslem population that recognises such men as leaders.'

One may marvel equally that, knowing this, or most of this, Viceroy's spokesman have accepted Mohamed Ali as the acknowledged spokesman of the Moslem population of India, and have allowed him to come to Europe and address British Ministers as the head of an All-Indian Caliphate Deputation. Imprisonment has not yet divested these men of the baneful authority which they were so long allowed to assume with impunity over their Indian co-religionists. The spirit which they infused into the Caliphate agitation still breathes to-day as fiercely as ever in their principal newspapers, which declare more loudly than ever that it is not the Paris proposals, but Angora's treaties with Soviet Russia which will secure Turkey's real independence, and that Islam can never be appeased until every trace of British authority, civil and military, has been swept out of all the Arab lands which were its cradle and the supremacy of the Caliph Sultan restored throughout them. That there are more sober elements amongst Indian Mohamedans who, without concealing a natural sympathy with their Turkish co-religionists, deplore the power wielded by such firebrands, and who doubt the wisdom of identifying the cause of Islam with that of Turkey, need not be denied. But their voice is seldom heard, and only in timid and uncertain accents. Sir William Vincent reduced his opponent to silence in the Delhi Assembly, and very few Mohamedan members in any of the Indian Legislatures have ever cared to associate themselves closely with the Caliphate movement. But still fewer have emulated the courage of one Mohamedan deputy who frankly

denounced the Caliphate-*Swaraj* agitation as 'nothing but fraud, and leading the uneducated Mohamedan masses to ruin.'

There is only too much evidence that racial bitterness and suspicion—not confined entirely to the Indian side and constantly fed by the mischievous utterances of British reactionaries in this country—are greater in India to-day than at any time since the Mutiny, and, even during the Mutiny, outside the relatively small area to which the outbreak of 1857 was confined. The rapidity with which the infection spread amongst the masses whose loyalty and contentment, however inarticulate, we had hitherto taken for granted, is an ominous symptom. But that is not all. This recrudescence of racial antagonism has imported fresh difficulties into the whole scheme of constitutional evolution embodied in the Statute of 1919. Gandhi's original campaign was directed mainly against the Reforms themselves, and it completely failed. Non-Cooperation tried to kill them in the womb by boycotting the elections to the new Councils and terrorising all those who ventured to take part in them whether as electors or as candidates. It failed to do so, and it failed on the whole equally in its attempts to boycott the Law Courts of a Satanic Government and the Government schools and colleges and every form of Government service. Its appeal to the Western educated classes fell, in fact, almost entirely flat, and it was, indeed, only because it fell so flat that it turned in desperation, but only too successfully, to the ignorant masses. The savage outbreaks which attended this new form of Non-Cooperation propaganda still further estranged the Indian Moderates, of whom many had themselves had a taste of Non-Cooperation violence during the elections. They knew that, if Non-Cooperation had its way, not only would the new representative institutions of which they had gained control be swept away, but that the whole country would be plunged into anarchy. Some of them, too, were now intimately associated under the Reforms scheme with the government and administration of the country, and were acquiring not only experience but some sense of responsibility with the possession for the first time of substantial political power. Thanks to the Reforms,

there seemed, therefore, every reason to hope that, face to face with an agitation which the Moderates could not deny to be largely revolutionary, the 'politically-minded' classes would not be deterred by their old antagonism to a bureaucracy, no longer by any means dominant and, for the most part, genuinely anxious to work with them, from rallying whole-heartedly to the side of Government. Such hopes, it must, however, be admitted, were only partially fulfilled. The large Indian majority in the new popular Assemblies were ready to acknowledge that law and order must be maintained or restored. But they began to haver over the methods to be employed for that purpose. They jibbed at the old word 'repression,' though they did not deny that Non-Cooperators were in many cases actual, as well as potential, law-breakers, and that, if the law is to be maintained, law-breakers must be repressed. They deprecated rather than opposed. They were swayed by sentiment rather than by reason. Some, doubtless, were frightened by popular clamour and dreaded unpopularity. Many more remembered what had been done three years ago in the Punjab under the plea of repression, and the shadow of Amritsar, which moved the Duke of Connaught to make last year so touching an appeal for mutual forgetting and forgiving, still broods heavily over India. Sound and courageous judgment is, after all, the fruit of long political training; and whilst our schools and colleges and many other agencies imported by us into India have created the Western educated classes that compose the bulk of the new Councils, we have only recently ceased to grudge them the one effective form of political education, which is real responsibility for the exercise of real power. Perhaps the attitude of Government itself, which for a long time inclined towards a *laissez-faire* policy, and, so far as the Caliphate agitation was concerned, towards one of benevolent toleration, was not calculated to give the Councils a strong lead. Nor must one forget the reaction upon Indians of the lamentable trend of events in Ireland, closely watched by all parties in India, and, in quite an opposite direction, of Mr Churchill's attitude towards British Indians in the Colonies, which Indians of all classes, and also the Government of India, resent

as in direct conflict with the Resolution passed at the last Imperial Conference. For the British Government cannot shelter themselves in regard to Kenya, a colony under the direct authority of the Crown, as they have done in regard to South Africa, behind the impossibility of interfering with the legislative independence of a self-governing Dominion.

These may seem to be mainly sentimental considerations, but there are grievances of a more material order which help to account for the growth of discontent and distrust. India, no doubt, had her fat years during the war when her exports prospered exceedingly; but they have been followed by desperately lean years, which have not only resulted in widespread economic depression but also in grave financial embarrassments for both the Central and the Provincial Governments. Nothing could have been more unfortunate for the reforms. The departments transferred to Indian Ministers in the Provinces, instead of being in a position, as was contemplated, to deal more liberally with such 'transferred' subjects as education, sanitation, public works, etc., which are the things that India really wants, have on the contrary been starved as never before, and popular expectations have been all the more grievously disappointed. This disappointment not unnaturally finds vent in vehement complaints in all the provinces that the contributions to be made by the Provincial exchequers to the Government of India Exchequer are excessive, and the Government of India itself is in far too deep financial waters to reduce them at present, though bound in principle to reduce them as soon as possible.

The figures of the last two All-India budgets are sufficiently eloquent. The first Indian Legislative Assembly elected under the new constitution has been confronted at Delhi in two successive years with the worst budgets on record, one showing a deficit of 18,000,000% and another a deficit of 22,000,000%, and both involving heavy increases of taxation. If this were merely bad State finance, Indians might not have more reason to grumble than other people whose public finances are not always wisely administered. But what the Indians see and resent is that both the deficits put together represent less than the loss inflicted upon India by a disastrous currency

and exchange policy for which Government must bear the blame, even if it originated in Whitehall rather than in Delhi. Worse still, that policy was adopted on the recommendations of a special commission of inquiry against the whole weight of Indian evidence and the protests of the one Indian member who recorded his objections in a prophetic minute of dissent from the unanimous views of his eminent European colleagues. It was an attempt to take advantage of the artificial rise in the price of silver during the war in order to 'stabilise' the rupee at the exchange rate of 2s. After a temporary boom which sent the rupee up to 2s. 10d., the rupee proceeded to fall continuously, and it is now slightly below the old level of 1s. 4d. Not only did the Indian Exchequer suffer enormous losses on its own exchange operations, but the whole trade of India was paralysed, and when Indian merchants, threatened in many cases with ruin, appealed to Government for compensation or help, and were told that Government disclaimed all responsibility, the shock was scarcely more disastrous to our reputation for business capacity than to our credit for good faith. All this was, of course, grist to the Non-Cooperation mill, and conservative Indian merchants—*Bunnias* of Bombay and *Marwaris* of Calcutta—were easily persuaded to believe in the bitterness of their hearts that India's loss had filled the pockets of European financiers. Government has so far shown few signs of penitence, and last year the Finance Member still persisted in budgeting on the basis of a 1s. 8d. rupee—an illusory halfway house which he has had to abandon this year. Trade, no doubt, gradually readjusts itself to conditions, however wantonly dislocated, and a bumper harvest, such as this year promises, is a wonderful panacea. But the moral harm done has been even more grievous than the material havoc.

No less unfortunate is the fact that in this year's and last year's budgets it is military expenditure which swallows up nearly half the revenue and is mainly responsible for the increasing burden of taxation; and it is not only Indians who ask why this expenditure should be heavier now than before the war, although the old menace of Russian invasion and the more recent

menace of German aggression can no longer be pleaded to justify it. No amount of official assurances can explain away the Esher Reports, and if, as it implied, the Indian army is to be maintained, not merely for the purposes of Indian defence, but to meet Imperial requirements outside of India, even when Indian interests are not primarily involved, Indians ask not altogether unreasonably why, at the very moment when the goal of Dominion Self-Government has been set before them, India should be expected to bear for Imperial rather than Indian purposes a far heavier burden of military expenditure than any other actual Self-Governing Dominion bears or can even be expected to bear. Then again, there is the largely increased cost of the British army in India, which, as it has to be borne by the Indian taxpayer, raises the question of the numerical proportion to be maintained between the very expensive British garrison and the less expensive Indian army. A British battalion in India now costs the Indian Exchequer about six times as much as an Indian battalion, whilst the quality of British regiments, now made up largely of young boys, has visibly fallen off since pre-war days. Add to these financial considerations the growing demand for the Indianisation of the Indian army, hitherto essentially a British fighting machine for which the Indians only furnish the raw material whilst executive command and administrative control remain entirely in British hands. This demand is partly the outcome of racial feeling, partly the expression of revived national consciousness. Many Indians realise that they cannot aspire to dominion self-government until they can protect as well as govern themselves. How, they ask, can they protect themselves until their army has been Indianised in the same measure as the Government and administration are already being rapidly Indianised?

Easier probably to surmount than these bedrock difficulties—for instance, the proportion of British regiments to be maintained in India affects the whole of our military organisation, based since Lord Cardwell's time on a system of linked battalions—are the difficulties involved in the adjustment of military policy on the North-West frontier to the financial necessities of the Indian exchequer. Without attempting to explore

the wide field of frontier policy, one can perceive quite clearly that, until that policy has been definitely revised in the light of the new conditions of frontier warfare, as well as of our changed relations with Afghanistan and of altered conditions in Central Asia and the Middle East in general, there can be no finality to the constant drain of frontier expeditions, which in Waziristan alone have cost 4,000,000*l.* within the last year.

Some stress has to be laid on the question of Indian military expenditure, not only on account of the larger issues lying behind it, but because it has from the very beginning dominated the proceedings in the Legislative Assembly, upon whose attitude must chiefly depend the success or failure of the new Indian Constitution. Military expenditure is, it is true, a 'reserved' subject upon which, according to the latest opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, the Viceroy himself has no authority to allow the Indian Legislature to vote in the present stage of constitutional evolution. But the powers which the Legislative Assembly already enjoys in regard to the granting or refusal of supplies when they involve increased taxation, as they have last year and this, are wide enough to enable it to bring very great pressure to bear indirectly upon Government. Not only are the Viceroy and the civilian members of the Government of India fully aware of this, but the present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, has himself recognised the importance of securing the good will of the Assembly by taking it as far as possible into his confidence, and to a quite unprecedented extent. But the Assembly knows that on the fundamental questions of policy the decision does not rest with the Commander-in-Chief, or even with the Government of India; and it is to the Imperial Government, even more perhaps than to the Government of India, that it addressed itself when it proceeded to exercise such powers of resistance as it possesses. Last year it contented itself with an unmistakable warning that, if it acquiesced then in the onerous budget presented to it, it did so only in order to avert the danger of a constitutional conflict at the very beginning of the new dispensation, and that it expected Government to mend its ways. When this year's budget showed the warning to have gone unheeded, it went much further.

It cut down the estimates right and left, and if it did not perhaps always show wisdom in the selection of the items to be reduced, its action was none the less effective as a protest against extravagance, not only in the military but in every department. In the same spirit it rejected all increase in the salt tax and in the excise duty on Indian-made cotton cloth—both specially detested imposts—and it reduced other increases of taxation, though the Finance Member defended them as the only chance of restoring a budget equilibrium of which even then he could not guarantee the stability. The prolonged discussions, sometimes very heated, ended in a compromise both as to curtailed supplies and taxation, which leaves the Government of India to face an uncovered deficit of over 9,000,000%, though the profits (about 2,000,000%) on the paper currency are to be utilised for revenue purposes—a financial expedient of very doubtful orthodoxy. It was agreed also that a Commission, somewhat on the lines of our Geddes Commission, should overhaul public expenditure and methods of administration with a view to drastic retrenchment, and the appointment of Lord Inchcape to preside over it affords some guarantee that the inquiry will be conducted with thoroughness and common sense.

Under the Act of 1919, the Viceroy might of course have exercised the power still vested in him to restore the budget as presented by Sir Malcolm Haily over the Assembly's head, and such a course was, it is believed, at first recommended from London. Lord Reading, wiser if less confident than when he first went out, realised, however, that this would have meant a conflict with the Indian Legislatures, not only in Delhi, but in the provinces where the local Governments are faced with equally acute difficulties in making both ends meet, and such a conflict would have grievously compromised the prospects of constitutional evolution and done just what Non-Cooperation had tried and failed to do. It would have wrecked the new Legislatures and driven the Moderates back into the arms of the Extremists at the very moment when the latter had been badly worsted. Moreover, opposition to the budget had been by no means confined to Indians, and the elected European members of the Assembly, representing the great commercial communities,

had been scarcely less critical than their Indian colleagues. Even apart from the danger of a political conflict, Lord Reading's own judgment as a business man may well have told him that the Assembly, however unpalatable its action at the moment, had in reality done good service to India by arresting Government on the inclined plane of financial profligacy and compelling it to review its whole policy in regard to revenue and expenditure in the light of rapidly changing economic conditions. The limits of taxation in the old directions, when India was almost exclusively an agricultural country, have probably been reached. But India is becoming also a great industrial country; and, just as the war which compelled Government thoroughly to explore for the first time her immense natural resources, gave a vigorous impetus to their development for industrial and commercial purposes, the pressure of financial necessity may now compel Government to reconsider the incidence and distribution of taxation on lines better adapted to the new sources of wealth that are opening out.

Less easy to justify is the demand put forward for an acceleration of the stages of constitutional evolution which were laid down in the Act of 1919. It is doubtless meant chiefly as a counterblast to the Non-Cooperation demand for immediate *Swaraj* with a complete severance, explicit or implicit, of the British connexion; and unfortunately some Indian Moderates are more inclined to disarm popular impatience by yielding to clamour than to go on plodding away at the wearisome task of educating their electorates. But even the greatest optimists must admit that the future of India's parliamentary institutions will largely depend upon the results of the next general elections eighteen months hence, which the Extremists will almost certainly not again boycott, but do their best or their worst to capture. Equally unwise, too, seems the agitation for the more rapid Indianisation of the public services, of which one effect is to intensify the growing reluctance of young Englishmen to seek an Indian career. The fall in the value of the rupee and the enormous rise in the cost of living in India are in themselves sufficiently serious obstacles to recruitment into the Indian public services in this country. Add to these

all the unpleasant reports as to the hostile atmosphere which Europeans have now to face, the eagerness of many British officials to avail themselves of the opportunity given to them of retiring at once on proportional pensions if they dislike the reforms, and the difficulty in the way of any guarantees for fixity of tenure, for prospects of promotion, and even for future rates of pay and pension when the domain of Indian self-government shall have expanded as it is bound to expand and may possibly expand very quickly, and one can understand, even if one deplores it, the fact that young Englishmen no longer care to enter for any branch of the Indian administration. The paucity—one might almost say the absence—of candidates for the Indian services at our chief Universities is already creating an alarming situation to which the more thoughtful Indians will, one must hope, speedily awaken. For even those who are now trying to force the pace admit that India cannot for a long time dispense with European assistance. Nor does she wish to do so. Yet there is a real danger that the supply from this country will have dried up long before there are enough Indians equipped to take the place of Englishmen.

The question which we have got to face—and it presents itself under a variety of forms—is whether we are determined to go through with the constitutional experiment upon which we have entered and to accept the implications of Parliamentary institutions in India even if they carry us further and faster than we had originally contemplated. Indians who sincerely desire to maintain the British connexion do not regard their new constitution as an experiment but as an irrevocable charter, and they are taking their Parliamentary institutions very seriously. Any one can see that for himself who studies the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly in the Delhi Hansard. But many Indians believe that neither the British Government nor the British people consider themselves finally committed to the new relationship established between India and the Empire. Into Mr Montagu's downfall and Mr Churchill's ascendancy in the Cabinet they read the menace of reactionary forces at home. The acid test of British sincerity will be above all the question of military expenditure, and

that of the treatment of Indians in the Colonies. In regard to the latter India knows that she has already the full and public support of the Indian Government, and she is confident that she can also rely upon it with regard to the former. If a conflict was averted in the Legislative Assembly over this year's budget, this was due, it is widely believed, not only to the spirit of reasonable compromise displayed by the Finance Member, but to assurances given less publicly by the Viceroy and his colleagues in the Government of India that the whole weight of their influence will be thrown into the scales with the British Cabinet to secure before the next budget is introduced a substantial alleviation of the military burdens imposed, mainly at the behest of the British War Office and the ex-Secretary of State for War who is now at the Colonial Office, upon India.

Mr Srinivasa Sastri, who has recently returned to India after having earned universal respect and admiration as the foremost representative of his country at the Imperial Conference in London and at the Washington Conference, reviewed, on his arrival in Bombay, with singular frankness and courage, the Indian situation as he saw it after nearly a year's absence. He believed Non-Cooperation to be now dead, but he did not mince his words about the havoc which it had wrought. To his fellow-countrymen and to the Bombay Presidency Liberals whom he was more immediately addressing he gave much wise and seasonable advice. The gravest note of warning which he sounded was, however, addressed to British Ministers whom he knows and who all know him. He had never known, he said, 'such profound distrust of government as existed to-day, such absolute lack of faith in their sincerity, such a rooted tendency to put aside all pledges, promises, and declarations as of no value whatever.' There is no need to labour the moral of such a warning from such a quarter; and Lord Reading himself appears to have at least tacitly endorsed it in the very glowing tribute which he paid a few days later to Mr Sastri at an official banquet in his honour at Simla.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

Art. 10.—MEXICO AND WORLD RECONSTRUCTION.

CAN any good come out of Mexico? Who among European statesmen would willingly burden his overstocked memory with the unfamiliar geographical names and grotesque revolutionary freaks that are commonly supposed to constitute the essence of its history—a history which long lay far out of the beaten track of progressive nations and had no organic nexus with Western civilisation? If the practical Yankee, whose economic interests bring him into daily contact with the greatest Latin-American Republic, can still afford to ignore offhand the annals, psychology, and language of its people, can there be any motive powerful enough to draw the attention of the bewildered European to that quarter of the globe, the fantastic political aberrations of its inhabitants and their exotic requirements? There are but few individuals in this era of specialisation qualified to reply to this query, but they would probably all give an emphatic answer in the affirmative.

In truth, there is hardly any point of view from which contemporary Mexico is not well worth careful study. The political economist, the parliamentarian, and even the two or three super-statesmen who talk in terms of world reconstruction, calculate with astronomical figures and tirelessly travel from Conference to Conference in quest of a magic formula that will ward off a catastrophe and save a Continent, might discover in the latest phase of Mexican history helpful hints and fruitful parallels. As the exact observations of the aborigines of that country enabled them in prehistoric ages to frame a calendar in strict accordance with scientific astronomy and, therefore, more accurate than any which has ever yet been adopted in the civilised world, so the unwonted political and economic straits into which the country has recently been plunged by civil war, anarchy, and the violent pressure put upon it by the action of self-righteous American politicians, led its rulers to venture upon unwonted experiments and break fresh ground. And, as it happens, some of the problems thus tackled are on all fours with those which the victorious Entente has been laboriously striving to settle at Cannes,

Boulogne, Genoa, and the Hague. Russia's present plight, for instance, offers striking points of resemblance to that in which Mexico floundered helplessly a couple of years ago. And the heroic remedies, which her present Chief Citizen has been systematically applying since December 1920, took their rise in statesmanlike conceptions which make a fuller allowance for the needs, and more completely dovetail with the highest interests, of the drooping, war-palsied communities of the world, than any yet acted upon or even seriously suggested by the super-statesmen of Europe.

The vexed subject of nationalisation and its bearings upon the title-deeds and subsoil rights of foreigners, narrowed down by the Mexican Constitution to the parcelling out of extensive landed properties and the State-ownership of oil wells; the vexed question of the responsibility of a post-revolutionary Government for the debts contracted by the overthrown regimes that preceded it, and the losses sustained by foreigners during the Revolution and civil war; its own correlative right to compensation from those neighbouring States whose private citizens fostered and financed armed opposition against it; its claim to *de jure* recognition without being compelled to assent to conditions derogatory to its dignity or destructive of its sovereignty—all these and more are included among the pressing issues which the Mexican Government, isolated and left to its own slender resources, has for two years been quietly striving to work out to satisfactory solutions by methods which deserve widespread recognition.

Incidentally, too, the latest turn in Mexico's history affords the student of world politics an insight into a curious aspect of the vast process which is also going on in other quarters of the globe—steadily but almost imperceptibly—and which I feel tempted, for want of a better word, to name the Americanisation of humanity. In Europe, where respect for form and for measure is ingrained in diplomatists and where the vested rights of many States have to be scrupulously reckoned with as checks to masked aggression, the working of this new force, although perceptible enough to the eye of the practised student of politics, is so slow and so closely interwoven with other movements as to pass unnoticed

by the many. But on the new Continent, where there are no such distracting side issues, and where diplomacy scorns to encase in velvet glove the iron hand, the progress of Americanisation is clearly visible and the tactics of those who further it lie open to analysis. And a study of the aims and methods of these world-reformers reveals the circumstance that the 'White Man's burden' is now being made to include all those backward races of mankind whose countries are rich in natural resources. The others may possibly be gathered into the true fold later on; but for the present they must wait. It is not merely the Russian and the German that the stewards of Providence are eager to help to their feet; they are devoting their energies to the moral upbringing of all those communities whose native soil offers attractions to capital and whose military and financial weakness deprives them of an alternative to submission. Barren countries like Armenia, therefore, are not ripe for salvation and must remain exposed to the tender mercies of their enemies.

Those, then, who would fain gauge the force of the waters which bid fair one day to inundate the world and sweep away many of the characteristic institutions of its various civilisations and races, must turn their attention to the remarkable condition of things in Central America and to the lingering agony of the political communities there which are being steadily and systematically sapped by forces from without. It is but fair to remark that some of those States themselves are to a considerable extent responsible for the wretched plight in which they find themselves. It is a case of saying that, if the tree had not provided the hatchet with a handle, the woodman could not have hewn down the forest. Disunited in the council chamber, ignorant and heedless of the dangers which encompass their respective countries, consuming their energies and resources in aimless civil wars, they supplied the wood for the handle of the Yankee hatchet, and now they watch helplessly and hopelessly the absorption of their countries by their great self-righteous neighbour. Haiti and Santo Domingo are classical examples. At no time was their condition irremediable. Haiti, indeed, was well on the way to permanent betterment when the United States Government intervened in

the name of morality and despatched troops thither whose amazing cruelties excited pity and loathing in the callous, imparted energy to the feeble-minded, and goaded even the venal and corrupt to feats of patriotism.

Among all the Latin-American Republics Mexico occupies a place apart. It has the largest population and the widest range of climates. It is an almost inexhaustible storehouse of everything that the mechanised world of to-day most urgently needs: raw stuffs and agricultural produce, oil wells, silver, gold, iron, copper, rubber, sugar, coffee, tobacco, and every variety of fruit and fish. Administratively the Republic is divided into twenty-eight sovereign States and three territories, each State with its elective Governor, its parliament and its own laws, which often differ widely from those of its neighbours. And of all those States there are only three which do not possess mines. Of copper mines alone there are more than a thousand in the Republic; and the State of Durango can boast the largest solid mass of iron on the globe in the shape of a great iron mountain. Cotton and maize are indigenous plants and were cultivated extensively and with success in prehistoric ages. Long before the Spanish invasion the natives wove artistic mantles for their potentates and chiefs, and contrived to make arrow-proof breast-plates of cotton for their warriors. This plant, perennial in some parts of the Republic,* does not require to be planted oftener than once in ten years. Henequen fibre, also known as Sisal grass, conferred material well-being upon the inhabitants of the Peninsula of Yucatan until the working men, holding out for wages which the planters were unable to pay and not receiving them, struck work permanently and reduced their employers and themselves to indigence. To-day a German invention is about to be employed throughout Mexico for the extraction from henequen and other kindred plants of a fibre much superior to cotton and at a mere fraction of the cost, whereby a new source of riches will be tapped, which may have far-reaching consequences, not only in the Republic but throughout the world. Mexico can

* In the States of Coahuila and Durango.

successfully compete with Cuba in the production of sugar and with Egypt in that of cotton.

In a word, the country is a small replica of the planet produced by the hand of the same Maker. It abounds in mountains and valleys, virgin forests of precious timber, lakes and rivers teeming with fish, a coast-line of nearly nine thousand kilometres, oil wells that are reckoned among the richest on the American Continent, countless mines, valuable coal measures, vast tracts of pasture land, moderate stretches of fertile arable districts, vast deserts, temperate zones, snowbound hills, volcanoes, and hot mechanical springs. It could easily be made self-sufficing. All it needs in order to become the most thriving country on the American Continent are the funds to provide irrigation and extend ways of communication by land and water. And this it could receive at any moment under normal conditions. But the relations between the United States of North America and the Southern Republic are unhappily the reverse of normal, and have been so, with brief intervals, ever since the second decade of Mexican independence. One of the consequences of the attitude of the politicians—not of the great and noble-minded people—of the United States has been the annexation, within the memory of persons still living, of more than half of Mexico's territory to that of the English-speaking Republic.

The fact is that great potential wealth in a militarily weak State is at once a temptation and a stimulus to its more powerful neighbours—a temptation to the ever-greedy foreign capitalist, and a stimulus to the self-righteous politician which supplies him with a highly moral shibboleth and a humanitarian flag. The capitalist covets the land, the oil, the mines; while the politician feels impelled to take the whole population in hand, re-educate it according to the highest principles of morality as he understands them, and distribute its goods to feed the poor and covetous of his own country. That would seem to be an essential part of the process of civilising the backward which is now going forward in China, Syria, Georgia, Adzerbeidjan, Mesopotamia, Colombia, and Cuba. It has had a tremendous and baleful influence on the destinies of Mexico, the country which Humboldt termed the 'Treasure House of the

World' and which, under less adverse conditions, might to-day be the recognised leader of Latin America.

A large part of Mexico's treasures is already in the hands of English-speaking foreigners, mostly American, who within the short span of time that has elapsed since the opening up of the oil wells are said to have withdrawn from the country more millions of pesos and pesetas than did the Spaniards during their three hundred years' misrule there. A special attraction is exercised by the oil wells, the possession of oil being the main purpose of the civilising Powers of the world to-day. The high-flown phrases about peace and order, morality and righteousness, which mask the greed of capitalists and the ambition of politicians, embitter the Mexican mind and quicken it at times into active antagonism towards foreigners, who were at first welcomed as helpful pioneers. It is not denied that Mexico has reason to be grateful to certain of those hardy wrestlers with the brute forces of Nature, especially to those who devoted themselves to irrigation and land-reclamation and benefited the natives while enriching themselves; nor can it be questioned that her behaviour towards them in revolutionary times was occasionally actuated by sentiments which had nothing in common with gratitude. But one should bear in mind the decisive circumstance that most of those pioneers belonged to the great nation whose government had annexed over one-half of the Republic, strove to dispossess it of more territory, and labelled these acts of spoliation humanitarianism and zeal for God's law.

From the days of the Spanish Conquest down to the Revolution of 1917, a vast stream of wealth poured steadily out of Mexico, at first into Spain, and, when the Spanish yoke was shaken off, into the United States, England, and France. The benefits to the people in whose territory these treasures lay were practically nil. They were plunged in ignorance, poverty, and squalor, decimated by hardship and disease, and taught to regard their lot as part of the cosmic scheme of things, which it behoved them to accept with resignation. It is no exaggeration to describe their condition since they acquired their independence as considerably worse than when Hernando Cortés landed at Tabasco in the year

1519. The repeated efforts of the various Mexican governments to divert a portion of that wealth to the betterment of the people's lot were fitful, extravagant, and invariably unfruitful. The law-givers lacked method, the local authorities were never at one with each other, the power of gold was overwhelming, and the Constitution, modelled on that of the United States, was prohibitive of a truly national system of governance. Like the ancient Greeks, the Mexicans lacked cohesion. The Greeks indeed attained something approaching to national consciousness, at least in religion; whereas religion in Mexico has never given of its best to the cause of national unity and has on critical occasions openly taken sides with the foreign enemy.

The federative system which has prevailed in the Republic since the year 1824 is a sheaf of disruptive forces converging in a Yankee lens and brought systematically to bear with baleful effect upon the vitals of the political community. Its contribution to the denationalisation of the Latin Republic has been, to my thinking, greater than the propaganda carried on by the various Yankee associations whose ultimate aim is the attraction of Mexico within the political orbit of the United States and its 'Cubanisation' by treaty. The federative system is the enemy within the gates, the Greek soldiers within the wooden horse. It keeps cross-currents continually sweeping athwart the political domain and scattering the highest national interests in confusing eddies. It fosters the racial instinct to follow a local chief in preference to the President of the Republic, to subordinate national law to local privilege, and to keep the nation permanently divided. In the end, if unchecked, it must lead inevitably to one of two consummations: the dismemberment of the nation which will become a ward of its virtuous and more powerful neighbour, or else the dictatorship either of a strong man like Diaz, or of a plutocratic group as in the United States, where democracy is a mockery and liberty a sorry misnomer. The most hopeful sign of Mexico's new birth as a fully independent State would be a root-reaching change of the federative structure and the adoption of a system in harmony with the spiritual and material interests of the ill-starred, peace-loving, and gifted Mexican people.

The worst evils emanating from that system of independent States were cunningly neutralised by one of Mexico's most famous rulers. Porfirio Diaz, religiously upholding its forms, deprived them of all real significance and employed the dictatorial power, which he thereupon usurped, to favour foreign capitalists and reduce the bulk of the people to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Nothing more demoralising in the way of political innovation has been chronicled by modern history since Tsar Boris Godunoff issued his decree instituting serfdom in Russia. Among the results of Diaz' 'reform' were the influx of capital into the Republic, the bestowal upon foreigners of a privileged status to which the natives had no claim, the enrichment of the State, and the further impoverishment of the people.

A small group of public workers, impatient of the nation's political degradation, and a much larger number of the people stung by want, misery, and injustice, rose up against the hated regime. Diaz enjoyed the 'moral' support of foreign capitalists, of the clergy, and of all those who were admitted to a share in the good things of which he and his lieutenants had the distribution. But age having weakened his faculties, loosened his grasp of the reins of power and shaken his resolve, he yielded to pressure which, in the long run, he could not have resisted, and his disappearance from the political scene was followed by a series of revolutions, rebellions, and aimless local and personal struggles which plunged Mexico into anarchy and chaos. Those public events were the cause of dire calamities to the peaceful individual who was indifferent to politics and eager only to keep his family and himself from want. His harvests were devoured by human locusts, his cattle were lifted, his savings were forfeit, and too often his house was wantonly burned. Thirst of vengeance or sheer want lured many pacific citizens to the ranks of one or other of the armies where they could confidently reckon upon a livelihood, anticipate military promotion together with the emoluments that went with it, and qualify for the highest posts in the Republic. In this way a whole section of the population was weaned from private pursuits, detached from the State, and incorporated in one or other of the fighting units which, after a lost

battle or a shortage of booty, they would abandon without a qualm to enlist with its enemies. In these circumstances the qualities of the soldier became divorced from those of the citizen; in a short time the wealth accumulated by the State under Diaz melted away; land improvement schemes were abandoned, railway extension ceased, and American troops invaded the Republic, which was more than once within an ace of ruin.

The Revolution, planned and carried out by a group of public-spirited men, headed by a law-abiding private citizen, whose aversion from aimless bloodshed was manifested by his heroic resolve to put an end to it by the most efficacious methods within his reach, triumphed over native opposition and foreign intrigues. Alvaro Obregon, a genius who rose from the ranks of the people, untrained in the profession of arms, hating lawless violence and civil war, slowly built up a model army of his own, and led it to victory after victory without sustaining a defeat even at the hands of the one hostile commander who was popularly deemed invincible. But after the peace the people were cheated of the rights which they had purchased with the heaviest sacrifices, and they had soon to be, as General Obregon put it, emancipated anew from the yoke of their emancipators. For a man eminently unfitted for the difficult post of President of the Republic, Don Venustiano Carranza, thrust his claim forward, threatened the unity of the revolutionary party if that claim were disallowed, and was raised by the generosity and personal modesty of his colleagues to the highest post in the State. Thus the reformed Republic received as its first President a landowner and Parliamentarian, poor in social spirit, patriotic in intent and despotic in act, in whom obstinacy usurped the place of reasoned resolve, and the roots of whose political character lay deep in the soil whence Porfirio Diaz had sprung. Carranza's rule, unbearable to Mexico and odious to the United States, brought his country to the verge of the abyss.

But it is worth noting that respect for the life and property of the foreigner had become so ingrained among Mexicans of all social layers that, even when the revolutionary fires blazed most fiercely, everything possible was done to afford security to the outlander. The

Republic was still a mother to the stranger and a step-mother to her own citizens. Nor was this consideration abated when the Washington Government displayed its partiality towards the most bloodthirsty bandit in the Republic who was buoyed up with the hope that he would one day rule that Republic with an iron rod. To every political army and group of combatants the foreigner was inviolable. I, who travelled as a member of the public at a time when trains were being blown up and cities attacked, had no difficulty in passing through districts known to be dangerous; and when I applied to a rebel commander for a safe-conduct across the territory he occupied, I received it at once, together with the offer of various other unasked-for favours. This scrupulous attitude towards the foreigner gave rise to the pathetic complaint among the natives that they alone among all the elements of the population were abandoned to themselves without help or hope. 'The Englishman,' they said, 'is protected by his Consul; the Frenchman is cared for by his *Chargé d'affaires*; the North American is inviolable under his flag; nobody dares to harm the Germans. In a word, every one in the Republic has his protector except ourselves. Who will give us a helping hand?' Here and there, no doubt, excesses were committed, and life and property sacrificed, by hordes of criminal moss-troopers who knew or recked naught of political or ethnic distinctions. It was a repetition on a small scale of what happened in the course of the French and Russian Revolutions, and what will probably recur in every civil war, wheresoever it be waged. A remarkable testimony, however, to the discipline of the various troops engaged may be found in the following figures, which proclaim the fact that, whatever other elements of the population was suffering, the foreign representatives of Mexico's principal industry—petroleum—were actually thriving. 'In the year 1917 the oil companies exported 42,545,853 barrels of oil; in 1918, 51,768,110; in 1919, 77,705,289; in 1920, 151,058,257.* In 1921 the total was about 200,000,000 barrels.

The soil from which this liquid wealth has long been

* The New York 'World,' June 27, 1921.

flowing was bought or leased years ago when the foreigner was in favour, by men of English speech. The purchase money or rent paid was generally low, but in nearly all cases the contracts were drawn up and signed in accordance with exceptional legislation which, oddly enough, was in vigour for that brief span of time. Therefore, from a purely juridical point of view, those contracts, leases, and purchases are unassailable. Whether other and higher considerations than legal forms may supplant or modify them is one of the moot points to which actuality was imparted by the Constitution of Queretaro of 1917. This charter nationalised the produce of the subsoil as one of the principal resources of the nation and called in question the right of present owners, native and foreign, to regard the oil-yielding lands as their inalienable property in perpetuity. The Mexican Government, on behalf of the nation, claimed the right of reserving as part of the State domain the principal natural resources of the country. It was argued that, if unforeseen circumstances impart to national treasures, which like oil are exhaustible, a value transcending that which they had at the moment when the concessions were made, it is open to the State to revise the terms of the grant and in the case of oil wells to recover the title in the interests of the community in return for fair pecuniary indemnisation.

'Mexico,' wrote President Obregon, 'has well been called the Treasure House of the world. In our mountains, plains, and valleys there is incalculable wealth. Given scientific methods in agriculture and in irrigation, and our arable acreage will be able to sustain a population of 100,000,000. We have iron, coal, and water power sufficient to turn the wheels of the world. Our oil fields have promise of producing a billion barrels annually, and our great stretches of pine and hard-woods are virtually untouched. The same condition obtains with respect to metals. As for gold and silver, there is no exact record of the millions sent annually to Spain during the three hundred years of vice-regal rule. In the last twenty years, however, even with revolutionary disturbances, our mines have produced more than a billion dollars in net value. Consider these facts and then consider the horror of poverty in which ninety per cent. of the Mexican people have lived, a people endowed by Nature with every blessing

necessary to comfort and happiness, yet compelled to suffer and die from sheer lack of the necessities of life. Common humanity dictated a change, and it is this change that Mexico has made. We stand to-day on the principle that the natural resources of a nation belong to the nation. Never again will the people of Mexico tolerate a Government that does not support this principle. By no means does this imply a hermit-nation policy. Mexico is not so foolish as to think that she can live alone or work alone, nor is any such wish in her heart; but what Mexico will ask in the future is a fair partnership in development. We are through for ever with the policy of gift, graft, and surrender.*

But the oil companies protested. What they had acquired they would keep, irrespective of new Constitutions and old precedents to the contrary. And the Washington Government endorsed their claims and announced its resolve to have them enforced. Accordingly, it asked for an assurance from the Mexican Government that in the execution of the new law American rights would suffer no curtailment. Subsequently two further demands were made, the acceptance of which by Mexico would, it was stated, suffice to warrant the recognition of the Government and the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two States: the recognition of the national debt and an undertaking to indemnify foreign residents for the losses they sustained during the Revolution. President Carranza, who made no attempt to avail himself of this offer, was deposed in the year 1920 by the men who had planned and carried out the campaign against revolutions, civil wars, and banditry, and his successors forthwith gave the undertaking demanded of them. Their advent to office marked the close of a period of internal troubles and the beginning of an era of genuine reconstruction. Democratic rule at home, neighbourliness abroad, and the substitution of morality for politics, constitute the essence of the programme of the party now in power. And these are not idle words. President Obregon and his political friends are not versed in the 'glib and oily art, to speak and purpose not.' They mean what they say.

* Telegram of President Obregon, published in the 'World' (New York) on June 27, 1921.

Already they have made short work of banditry. And what was much more difficult, they have crushed in the bud revolts and revolutions, financed and favoured by interested foreign millionaires, adventurers, and politicians, without jeopardising international relations. They have solved the problem of disarmament and reduced the effective strength of the Republic to fifty thousand men, and are proceeding to cut it down still further. They have put an end to favouritism and maintained the supremacy of law. Recognising the cardinal fact that a people cannot be made virtuous or law-abiding by Acts of Parliament, they have tackled the all-important problem of education with a thoroughness which no European State has as yet displayed. In the year 1920 the sum allotted by the Federal Government for public education was two million pesos.* Last year it was increased to nine millions, and this year it has been raised to forty-five millions. Mexico is thus the only country in the world which devotes fifteen per cent. of its total outlay to public education.

A remarkable campaign against illiteracy has been inaugurated by Obregon's Government, under the direction of a man whose devotion to the work is a besetting passion. The Minister of Public Instruction, Don José Vasconcelos, has enlisted thousands of individuals in the army of volunteers who are gratuitously teaching children and adults to read, write, and count. These apostles of culture travel from place to place at their own expense and prepare others to carry on the work. The University of Mexico publishes the masterpieces of the literature of all nations, distributes copies gratuitously throughout the Republic, and sells the remainder at nominal prices. A monthly review is published by the Federal Government in which the urgency and the methods of social advance are impressively taught and the supreme importance of collective effort. In the first number of this review one reads :

'The main principle which may serve for the guidance of contributors to this publication is the conviction that culture, ideas, and art are worthless unless pressed into the general interest of humanity, unless their aim be to secure the

* A Mexican peso is half a United States dollar.

general well-being of all; for, unless they tend to insure liberty and justice, individual capacities cannot be duly developed nor the spirit elevated to the region of high ideals.*

The labour laws, too, are undergoing a beneficial change. The President is about to introduce a Bill levying on employers of every kind of labour ten per cent. of the wages and salaries paid. The proceeds of this tax are to form a reserve fund from which the State will grant allowances in case of injuries, annuities to the relatives of breadwinners who die leaving young children, aged parents, sisters, etc., and pensions to those who are too old to earn remunerative wages.

It is with men of this new type, apostles of universal peace and brotherhood, not with infatuated nationalists or wily politicians, that foreign governments and individuals have now to deal in Mexico.

The leader of this group of public workers and First Citizen of the Republic has given publicly and without ambiguity all the guarantees which the Democratic Administration of the United States demanded.

'Every private right acquired prior to May 1, 1917, when the new Constitution was adopted,' writes President Obregon, 'will be respected and fully protected. The famous Article 27, one clause of which declares the nation's ownership of subsoil rights in petroleum, will never be given retroactive effect, nor has it ever been given retroactive effect.'†

With like emphasis the President has repeatedly recognised the national debt and committed himself to the statement that it will be paid to the last farthing. Incidentally, it is worth noting that the total unpaid interest on Mexico's foreign debt is less than nine millions sterling. Respecting the obligation to compensate foreigners for losses sustained during the Revolution, it was open to President Obregon to take the stand which Tchitcherine took at Genoa and to challenge the claim of foreign residents to more favoured treatment than is accorded to natives. But, spurning all subtleties, the President of Mexico solemnly declared that the State would indemnify all those who had suffered losses. In

* 'El Maestro,' N.L.

† Telegram of President Obregon, published in the 'World' (New York) on June 27, 1921.

a word, he met the demands of the United States Government squarely and fairly at every point.

But, in the meanwhile, the Democratic Administration had been followed in the United States by the Republican; and the new men took a stand which differs from that of their predecessors. The conditions which would have satisfied the former were declared inadequate by the latter. Secretary Hughes, departing from all diplomatic precedent and brushing international usage aside, laid it down that the recognition of the Mexican Government must be the outcome of a bargain and the price asked was a 'treaty of commerce and amity,' which can be concluded only by violating the Mexican Constitution. The recognition of the national debt, the promise of compensation for losses inflicted by the Revolution, the exemption of foreigners from the provision of the Constitution which nationalised petroleum, went for nothing. President Wilson would have considered those guarantees amply to justify him in recognising the Obregon Government and wishing success to its Chief. But Mr Harding insists upon a condition which embodies the strange doctrine that the choice and confidence of the Mexican people are not of themselves sufficient to give them a Government. Unless their choice is hall-marked by the State Department in Washington—and the stamp duly paid for—their President has no international status, their Government is not the organ of the nation, and they are living as anarchists and outlaws. An eminent American writer remarked that the Monroe Doctrine is at bottom an arbitrary claim of the Washington State Department to define the rights of other countries; and the attitude of Mr Hughes and President Harding fully bear out the definition.

I recently questioned some of the most celebrated authorities on international law as to whether Mr Hughes' demand for a treaty of commerce as a condition of recognition could be supported by precedent, or indeed by any consideration, political or ethical, that would appeal to a jurisconsult, a statesman, or even a fair-minded politician, and the answers were emphatically in the negative. 'It is a monstrous claim,' exclaimed one Professor of International Law, 'which will not stand

the test of examination. It can be upheld only by the right of might.'

It would not perhaps matter very materially whether or no the reformers who are now busy reconstructing Mexico were formally recognised by the Washington Government, were it not for the issues which depend on the formality. In this case, recognition means financial credit and its refusal involves a financial blockade. For the Governments of France and Great Britain follow the lead of the United States, and all three constitute a bloc which withholds loans for any purpose whatever from the Mexican Republic. And now that that Republic is recovering from the terrible effects of a long period of internal strife and destructiveness, funds are peremptorily needed for the work of reconstruction which is being carried on systematically, zealously, and with a marked degree of success. If, at Genoa, Tchitcherin had assented to one-half of the conditions which President Obregon solemnly accepted and set about executing, the Bolshevik régime, despite its condemnation of private property and suppression of personal liberty, would have been recognised. Why should a principle applicable to Bolshevik Russia be repudiated in the case of Mexico?

The explanation of this apparent incongruity is simple and humiliating. A European statesman volunteered it recently at Genoa when he remarked that international politics have degenerated into oil politics. An American, Mr N. D. Clark, Vice-President of the International Commercial Exposition, stated that: 'Oil interests are financing revolution. As long as oil men can keep Mexico in a state of chaos they will not have to pay production taxes which amount to 75 centavos a barrel.'* In the United States this transformation is already complete; and, as politics in that country in their loftiest flights are frequently flavoured with the spice of religion, two disparate currents are set free which combine to sweep away the independence of Mexico and all the Caribbean Republics. Groups of American capitalists and politicians, desirous of securing to themselves all the oil of this or that country, plan schemes for provoking military intervention by the United States, such as has already

* The 'Nation' (New York), March 1, 1922.

destroyed the sovereignty of Haiti and Santo Domingo. They court the friendship of certain Generals and politicians among the natives, induce them to make binding promises to be redeemed when they come into power, and then finance the revolts which are to bring about the desired conditions. Such was the method employed time and again in Mexico where candidates for the Presidency were selected in advance by these foreign intriguers. One of the official representatives of a Great Power had the audacity to propose such a candidate for provisional President and to promise speedy recognition by his Government. If one of those easy-going native adventurers were once in the presidential armchair, he would be obliged, as was the case with President Dartiguenave, whom the American Admiral Caperton imposed upon the Haitians,* to agree to everything including the renunciation of State sovereignty. 'Dartiguenave,' Admiral Caperton, as he reported to his Government, 'realises that Haiti must agree to any terms demanded by the United States. . . . He states that he will use all his influence with the Haitian Congress to have Haiti agree to such terms.' And Secretary Daniels in Washington, when he ordered Caperton to assume charge of the Custom houses in Haiti, telegraphed: 'Confer with Chargé d'affaires for purpose of having President Dartiguenave solicit above action. Whether President so requests or not, proceed to carry out State Department's desire.'†

'Martial law,' writes an eminent American lawyer, 'has for six years held these tiny republics (Haiti and Santo Domingo) in its iron bondage. Journalists protesting in the name of our own immortal principles . . . have been "tried" by court martial and thrown into jail with hard labour. . . . And yet the insolent American imperialist tells us that the occupation is designed to help Dominicans and Haitians who in turn love their military masters.'‡

This theory of 'helping' wealthy States that are supposed to be unable to take care of themselves is the political gospel of the second group of politicians who

* On Aug. 12, 1915.

† United States Navy's secret despatch book on Haiti, as revealed before the Senate Committee and published by the (New York) 'Nation,' Nov. 9, 1921.

‡ Frank Walsh. See the 'Nation' (New York), Feb. 1, 1922.

invoke a mission from on high and a moral obligation to take up the 'white man's burden.' And President Harding and Mr Hughes have provided grist for their mill by demanding a special treaty as a condition of recognition. True, these two statesmen invoke the highest principles of ethics and can quote Scripture for their purpose. But what they are asking cannot be accorded without the violation of truth and justice; and the upshot of their demand must be exactly what the interventionist group desires—the relapse of the country into civil war and chaos.

President Obregon cannot conclude any such treaty, because he has sworn to respect the Constitution, and the Constitution expressly forbids him to make a compact of the kind required. If, therefore, he were to set his hand to the covenant which, in Mr Hughes' opinion, would qualify him for recognition, he would be guilty of twofold perjury. Meanwhile, Mexico is deprived of international credit; and the efforts of her present rulers to reconstruct the country and educate the nation are being nullified in the name of religion and morality. In June 1921 President Harding publicly thanked God that the United States are not as other nations are. 'If all the nations of the earth,' he said, 'were as honest and unselfish as this Republic, there never would be another war.' The 'New York Times' (June 10, 1921), chronicling this speech, adds by way of comment: 'When our Presidents are tempted to do a little vainglorying at the expense of other countries, would it not be well to pause and reflect on its sure reception by them? In their hearts, they are apt to consider Americans either prigs or hypocrites.'

On the one hand, then, we behold the Governments of the progressive nations co-operating to restore normal economic conditions to the world, and, on the other hand, we see the same Governments combining to hinder the return of normal economic conditions to the leading Latin-American Republic, as though Latin America and its peoples were living and working outside the pale of humanity and their affairs had no bearings upon those of the other races. This two-sided policy is calculated to put one in the unphilosophic frame of mind in which Voltaire, writing to d'Alembert, said: 'My compliments to the devil, for it is he who governs the world.'

E. J. DILLON.

Art. 11.—INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

1. *International Relations*. By James Bryce. Macmillan, 1922.
2. *Diplomacy by Conference*. By Sir Maurice Hankey. Proceedings of the British Institute of International Affairs, 1921.

THE lectures upon international relations with which Lord Bryce delighted an American audience in the summer of last year have now been given to the world. At the time of their delivery the illustrious author was, judged by the test of chronology, a very old man; yet, save for the constant evidence of a ripe and manifold experience, there is nothing of the octogenarian about these fresh and vigorous addresses. In firmness of grasp, in width of perspective, in glow of sympathy, in keen and voracious powers of assimilation, Lord Bryce's last political message is fully equal to the work of his brilliant prime and appears the more remarkable, when we reflect upon the principal subject-matter of these discourses, a bloodstained and revolutionary epoch, charged with far-reaching and controversial problems and coinciding with the author's extreme old age. That Lord Bryce should have been able to disengage the essential issues from the confused political texture of contemporary history, to relate them in due proportion to their proper place in the procession of time, and to extract from them the moral and political lessons which it was his purpose to convey to America, furnishes another illustration of the old saying that those whom the gods love die young.

Ever since the dawn of history men have been quarrelling and slaying.

Χάρμη γηθόσυννοι τὴν σφὶν θεὸς ἐμβαλε θυμῷ.

War has been the rule, peace the exception. The forces which might have been expected to alleviate, if not to remove, the sources of armed discord from the world have proved too weak to overcome the elemental passions of mankind. Religion has brought not peace but a sword. Trade, far from knitting nations together in bonds of closer amity, has stimulated competition and sown the seeds of new controversies. Increased means

of intercourse as often as not promote irritation and distrust. 'On the whole,' as Lord Bryce observes, 'very little friendship comes out of the intercourse of nations.' Nor is it a passport to the good will of the foreigner to be distinguished in the sphere of moral excellence. 'Nobody ever heard of a nation whose virtues made other nations love it.' On the whole the spread of education through the world, providing as it does a common basis of experience, makes for peace and mutual comprehension; but one of the products of education is the newspaper press, which, by its constant striving after sensation, is, or may be, a powerful fomentor of international suspicions and animosity.

In the last resort the future of the world depends not upon artificial arrangements but upon the moral progress of the individual men who compose the communities into which the world is divided. A few figures of commanding moral stature, a Washington for instance, or a Lincoln, contribute to the cause of peace by elevating the general esteem in which their nation is held and by correcting such depreciatory estimates as may from time to time be founded on the casual information of the daily press. Experience, however, goes to show that the provocative act of a single statesman may be sufficient to endanger even a firm and long-standing friendship between nations. There is a political crisis. The newspapers, avid for sensation, spring forward to inflame it. All the latent sources of difference between the opposing countries are rushed into the forefront, all the causes making for amity are hurried out of sight, and, unless firm and prudent men take the helm, the ship of State may be suddenly swept from its moorings out into a stormy and uncharted sea.

For the edification of the American public nothing could be more timely than Lord Bryce's survey of the dangers which still threaten the peace of the world after the conclusion of the greatest and most devastating war recorded in history. The picture painted by the great historian is dark indeed. Perhaps in the light of the achievement of Washington and the promise of Genoa, the colours may be deemed too sombre, but no competent person will be found to contest the proposition that the Treaties of Peace have left behind them abundant

occasions for the renewal of strife. Lord Bryce, while recognising many of the difficulties of the negotiators, and in particular the unprecedented complexity and scale of the task with which they were confronted, comments with severity upon many features of the European settlement. The handing over to Italy of a quarter of a million of German Tyrolese, countrymen of the national hero, Andreas Hofer, in virtue of the secret treaty of 1915 between England, France, and Italy, the excessive mutilation of Hungary, the sharing out of Macedonia between Serbia and Greece, excite definite censure, while apprehensions are entertained as to the stability of the newly constituted States of Poland and Yugo-Slavia. The most sinister feature, however, of a depressing situation is still the continuance, in a highly exacerbated form, of the ancestral rivalry between France and Germany.

'There is no blacker cloud pregnant with future storm hanging over Europe now than that which darkens the banks of the Rhine. Not even after Jena in 1806, not even after Gravelotte and Sedan and the capitulation of Paris in 1871, has the prospect of reconciliation between the two neighbour peoples seemed so distant.'

It may be doubted whether Lord Bryce does not attach too great an importance in this regard to the devastations, deplorable as they undoubtedly were, of the German Higher Command while its armies were retiring in 1918; but there can be no doubt that unless and until tolerable relations are established between France and Germany, there can be no 'moral disarmament' in Europe.

No wise man will minimise the political difficulties of the new Europe. An historical student, if he had been asked to advise upon the political remedies to be applied after the war, would probably have recommended a less drastic prescription than that which was actually administered by the consultants in Paris. He would have been tempted to counsel the maintenance so far as possible of the *status quo ante bellum* with certain well-defined exceptions, such as the assignment of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and of the Trentino to Italy, coupled with some minor adjustments of the Hungarian boundary

within an Austro-Hungarian federation so constituted as to give their proportionate weight to the Slavonic elements in the old Reich. But was such a solution possible at the time? We may be permitted to doubt it. So easy is it to over-estimate the authority of individual statesmen, so hard to appraise the force of the prejudices and passions by which their liberty of action is necessarily limited. The old autocratic monarchies having fallen to the ground like rotten fruit, the negotiators were faced with the clamorous pretensions of the insurgent nationalities. They could not decree the non-existence of these new States, for they were already in being. They could not refuse to listen to them, for were they not enemies of the old hostile order and had they not been allies, not only of France and England and Italy, but of America also in the war?

'The Poison-Treaties,' then, as they are harshly termed by a distinguished American financier, were not the result of any double dose of original sin in the negotiators of Versailles, but rather of historic European discords canonised by imported American philosophy. The doctrine of self-determination was an American formula. It crossed the Atlantic during the war and was at once hailed as supplying a rational principle for the political repair of Europe. For if the inquirer asked what was the latent cause of European uneasiness, he was generally told that the morbid symptoms were traceable to the fermentation of suppressed nationalities. How, then, could it be doubted that the true way to reform Europe was to recast the map in accordance with racial and linguistic groupings? On this point nationalist sentiment coincided with popular philosophy and military advantage. The negotiators in Paris bowed to the necessities of the war. They refashioned the map of Europe according to the maxims of President Wilson, taking good care in cases of doubt to give the award in favour of their friends. Human nature being what it is, they could scarcely be expected to act otherwise.

In truth, the prevalent habit of condemning the Treaties, doubtful as many of their provisions are, has been largely fostered by two illusions. Many of the evils which Europe still experiences are referred to the Treaties which should more properly be attributed either

to the war itself or the deep-seated historic antagonisms of the old Europe, rivalries not to be overcome by any written words, and destined, unless there should be an entirely new orientation of popular education, to infect international relations with their venom till the end of time. Another illusion, very prevalent in this country, is the habit of confounding the economic provisions of the Treaties with the political settlement. All that can be urged against the economic provisions of the peace was quite familiar to British statesmen before the argument was published in a popular form by a Cambridge economist. The point, however, which is generally neglected is that the Treaty set up an instrument for its own revision in the sphere of economics and finance, and that in point of fact the task of revision and adaptation has been proceeding steadily ever since. The economic proposals of the Treaties were therefore advisedly of a tentative and provisional character, and for this reason the detailed arrangements were not to be taken too seriously. Far otherwise was it with the territorial settlement. Here the negotiators aimed at finality. Here they were making dispositions which could not be seriously altered without effusion of blood. And seeing that in this, by far the most important department of their task, the framers of the Peace obeyed the democratic and nationalist impulses of their age, freeing from an alien and autocratic dominion Poles and Czechs, Slovaks and Slovenes and Arabs, it is the more curious that their work should be condemned by a large section of liberal opinion both here and in other countries.

It is a natural consequence of so great a catastrophe as that which the world has just experienced that every one should ask himself whether it is not possible to improve the mechanism of international relations. If the few mismanage, why not call upon the many? If secret diplomacy is bankrupt, why not try open diplomacy? If the diplomats cannot avert wars, why not trust the public? If intercourse by despatch is barren, why not substitute intercourse by Conference? Lord Bryce was not the man to under-estimate the value of popular judgment.

'The people,' he writes, 'are not qualified to deal with every kind of matter, but when there is a plain issue, and especially

if it is a moral issue, there is often seen a fairness and even a wisdom in the judgment of the people which we are not sure to find in the politicians.'

And he cites the examples of the Afghan War of 1878-9, and of the South African War of 1899-1902. On the other hand, it does not follow that, if the few manage foreign affairs ill, the many will manage them better. The bad management of foreign relations in the past may lie in the nature of foreign relations themselves or perhaps in the nature of men as men. In any case matters will not be improved by abolishing the diplomatist, who, though his importance has been lessened by telegraphy, still discharges a valuable function in reporting and explaining to his Foreign Office the ebbs and flows of popular sentiment in the country to which he is accredited, and, so far as his own direct action is concerned, in preventing political differences from passing into disputes.

Opinion is apt to be unjust to the professional diplomatist, for the reason that his successes go unobserved, while his failures are writ large upon the face of history. Nevertheless, in such a period as that through which we are now passing, the slow and deliberate methods of professional diplomacy, admirably suited as they may be in normal times for smoothing away the current obstruction to harmonious international intercourse, require aid from other and more direct expedients. One of these expedients, and not the least fruitful, is the method of the Conference, upon which Sir Maurice Hankey, than whom there can be no higher expert, has written an authoritative treatise. International Conferences are no novelties. Most of the great wars of modern times have led up to a gathering representative of the interests concerned; but the Conference as a standing method of disposing of international business is a product of the recent war. How the Conference developed from the meeting between Mr Asquith and M. Viviani at Calais on July 6, 1915, until the establishment of the Supreme War Council after the Italian defeat at Caporetto, and how this machinery, created by the war, inevitably became the nucleus of the Peace Conference which met in Paris in January 1919, is recounted in precise detail by Sir Maurice Hankey, whose

story constitutes an important contribution to the history of international relations.

'Eventually it was found most convenient that the important business of framing the conditions of the European peace should be conducted by four men, President Wilson, Mr Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and M. Orlando. The proceedings were quite informal and unhampered by rules and written procedure. These four men of wide and varied political experience were free to conduct the business in the best way they could discover. They were able to discuss questions in the greatest intimacy not only among themselves but with the heads of the States concerned. They all possessed in common the invaluable gift of humour, and many a time have I seen a difficult period tided over by some sparkle of wit or the timely interpolation of a good story. In the intimacy of this small circle personal resources were available which could not be used to the same extent in a larger and more formal gathering. An atmosphere of personal friendship and mutual respect was created in which the thorniest questions, when natural or other interests appeared to clash almost irreconcilably, could be adjusted. Looking back and reviewing the proceedings I am surprised not at the time taken to complete the German Treaty, which was much criticised at the time, but at the astonishing rapidity with which it was accomplished.'

There can be little doubt that the Conference has come to stay. The urgency, the complexity, the importance of international business is now such that it cannot always be left even to the most experienced diplomatists to discharge. Occasions arise from time to time which make it expedient that the leading statesmen of the great nations should meet one another and collaborate in the solution of their common problems. At such conjunctures it is essential to success that any statesman participating in the Conference should be in a position to gauge the extent to which his own fellow-countrymen will support him in any measure which he may propose, or in any proposal coming from another which he may accept, and that he should have the courage to commit his Government and his Country upon his own judgment. No international gathering in recent times has been a more conspicuous success than the recent

Conference at Washington; but, if this is so, it is largely because Mr Balfour knew the mind of the British Cabinet and of the British people, and was not afraid to take upon himself the full responsibility for momentous decisions. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that the success of the Conference, so far as naval disarmament went, was secured on the opening day when Mr Balfour rose to express his concurrence with the bold and comprehensive project of Mr Hughes which he had then heard for the first time. A statesman of less authority and experience could hardly have taken such a step; but in diplomacy, as in ordinary life, *Bis dat qui cito dat*. The promptitude with which the principal British delegate accepted the American proposal laid the basis of that cordial and fruitful co-operation between the two delegations which has conferred an inestimable boon on the war-wearied peoples of the world.

These occasional Conferences, valuable as they may be as a means of adjusting the relations between nations in times of special difficulty, do not satisfy all the requirements of well-regulated international intercourse. 'Some sort of permanently organised joint action by peace-loving peoples,' to use Lord Bryce's phrase, 'whatever form it may take,' is also needed, and is in fact provided under the covenant of the League of Nations. The utility attaching to this institution, as a means of arresting a dangerous conflagration, has recently been illustrated upon a small but instructive scale in the case of Albania. Here was a tiny, rudimentary, ill-organised State, which, having been admitted to membership of the League, was entitled to all the protection which the Confederation could afford. News reached London that Serb troops had crossed the Albanian frontier, that Albanian villages had been fired, and it was clear that only by the promptest action could the whole of Northern Albania be saved from hostile occupation. Mr Lloyd George telegraphed for a Council of the League. The Serbian exchange instantly fell, and when, a few days later, the Council met in Paris a happy settlement was promptly reached. The invaders undertook to withdraw their troops within twenty days, a neutral zone was traced between the rivals, and Northern Albania was

restored to tranquillity. There could be no more illuminating commentary upon the utility of some form of standing International Conference for the adjustment of differences and the prevention of war. This was one of those numerous cases in which the only effective action is prompt action. When we consider the immense difficulties of getting together a special international congress, the despatches, the delays, the obstructions, the elaborate preparations, it is clear that without some such machinery as the League was able to provide Europe would have been confronted with an Albanian parallel to Fiume. Fortunately the scandal was averted, and this with so little fuss and advertisement that ninety-nine people out of a hundred have never heard of the incident, or of the way in which it was handled.

The essential value of the League does not, however, reside in the fact that it provides the machinery for a standing conference upon international affairs, but in a circumstance quite independent of its current activities in time of peace. The evil which the framers of the Covenant hoped to vanquish was not war, but the precipitate declaration of war before all means of averting it had been studiously explored. It is the rapid mobilisation required by the present state of the art of war which is so injurious to the prospects of a pacific issue, when once a political controversy has been allowed to reach a certain stage. This was the problem for which the statesmen who made the Treaty had to find a solution. They had to procure the acceptance of a dilatory procedure before the sword was drawn. Now let it be supposed that the negotiators had succeeded in inducing two important States to enter into an engagement that they would not go to war with one another, until the quarrel had been submitted to arbitration, and even then not without the interposition of several months' delay, the achievement would have been regarded as a triumph for the pacific principle. But the Covenant of the League, which prescribes arbitration and delay before a resort to the arbitrament of arms, has been signed not by two, but by fifty-one States, and, even if there were no Council or Assembly or Secretariat, this wide acceptance of the dilatory principle would constitute the most important step which has yet been taken

towards a rational ordering of the great question of Peace and War throughout the world.

What, however, it may be added, has this new instrument contributed towards the cause of disarmament? Every one knows that huge armaments lead straight to war, that Europe can no longer afford the luxury of big military or naval establishments, and that, seeing that in the present impoverished condition of the world, a great war is impossible for many years to come, a rare opportunity for comprehensive disarmament is now presented. There is also a great body of opinion which suspects that the private manufacture of armaments, if unregulated as at present, is, or may be, conducive to that inflamed and disordered state of the public temper out of which wars arise. And few right-thinking people doubt that it is a duty incumbent on the civilised States of the world to prevent the export of arms to barbarous countries. What, however, has the League of Nations done in these grave matters? The Washington Conference has limited the naval armaments of the Greater Powers, and averted the unspeakable catastrophe of a new naval competition; but the land armaments of Europe, which are so pressing a burden upon industry and commerce, have, save for the limitations—and they are necessarily of immense importance—placed upon the armies of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria by the Treaties of Peace, received no general limitation whatever. Few political themes require more delicate treatment than the handling of the armament question, for every Government maintains to its own public as well as to the world at large, that its military and naval establishments do not exceed the necessities of its domestic needs and international obligations. It might have been thought that since the war these objections had been reduced to a minimum, partly by the disarmament of the Central Powers and partly by the force of economic circumstances. That this has not proved to be the case is due to a malady which has only just been brought within the region of international hygiene. From all the works of the League of Nations the Soviet Republic has so far stood aside in armed and suspicious isolation. The Communist rulers of Russia affect to regard the Bourgeois Governments of the West as their natural enemies, and

the League of Nations as the subservient machine of French and Polish policies. And so long as this attitude is maintained, so long as Red Armies of indefinite dimensions menace the security of the weak and ill-compacted States which line the western border of the Soviet Republic, so long will there be no true peace in Europe. The Conference at Genoa had for its main object the termination of this uneasy state of affairs; and should the truce which has now been happily arranged lead to the establishment of stable relations of peace and security between Russia and her neighbours, the first effectual step will have been taken, since the abolition of conscription in Germany, to carry out the disarmament of Europe.

Meanwhile, the League investigates the question. It is to be hoped that before the next Assembly meets in Geneva, some plan or other will have been elaborated by the recently strengthened Committee (known as the Temporary Mixed Commission), which has been appointed to report to the Council; and that this, if not in itself acceptable in all its details, will establish the main lines upon which a policy of reduction should proceed. The Committee may also turn its attention to supplementing the work of the Conference of Washington by considering plans for the reduction of the minor naval armaments, for the regulation of the laws of war and of the manufacture of armaments. In the two last questions the concurrent action of the United States must be secured, before practical results can ensue.

In the handling of this great matter the League is necessarily embarrassed by the wholly natural, but necessarily perturbing, state of public opinion in France. The French are a logical as well as a high-spirited nation. They argue that, with all the odds in their favour, they very narrowly escaped destruction at the hands of an enemy, more powerful and more populous than themselves, with a higher birth rate, and always formidable by reason of its natural diligence and high organisation of scientific resources. They contend that this enemy will not forgive or forget its defeat; that some day it will seek its revenge; and that on that day the tragedy will be divided into two acts, a prologue in Poland and an epilogue in Paris. For this reason those

among them who are fatalists, believing that the overflow of the Teutonic hordes occurs with the regularity of a recurrent decimal, refuse to take risks. They argue that the peace of the New Europe depends on strong armies in France, in Poland, and in the new States carved out of the body of old Austria. To disarm now is to surrender Europe to chaos. Impenitent Germany, angry, impenitent Hungary, vast, dangerous, chaotic Russia, are waiting to spring. The Peace has left the French soldier the *gendarme* of Europe.

It is, however, a mistake to paint the Frenchman as an Imperialist. In every country the small people, peasants and working folk, are for peace and plenty, and not least in those countries which know the burden of conscript service. France would be willing enough to reduce her armaments, if she felt secure. She does not, however, feel secure. Her nervousness for the future matches her resentment for the past. The sentiment may be irrational, but it is very real. It is for this reason that the prospect of a pact with Great Britain is eagerly welcomed by the pacifist and liberal elements of French political opinion as calculated to soothe anxiety, and is correspondingly distrusted by the Chauvinists as likely to lead to a relaxation of military precautions. Taken in combination, an Anglo-French pact and a limitation of the Red armies of the Soviet Republic would at last produce a complexion of affairs favourable to a general plan for the reduction of land armies through Europe; and since Europe is the principal centre of hostile tensions in the world, a long step forward would be taken towards the establishment of a universal peace.

Meanwhile little can be expected from the League save *mémoires pour servir*. Statistics can be collected, a type of disarmament treaty can be discussed and prepared, or the draft code for the regulation of the manufacture of armaments might be put upon the anvil with the view to its acceptance in a specially summoned Convention. All this is useful, indeed necessary work. We must not disparage it, but in this sphere of operations the effectiveness of the League is for the moment seriously impaired by the fact that America, Germany, the Soviet Republic, are not included in its membership.

For the moment the aloofness of America is of less consequence than the exclusion of Germany and the outlawry of Russia. Though many valuable results cannot be achieved without American co-operation, the most important objects of the League, so far as Europe is concerned, are capable of being realised by the Society upon its present restricted basis of membership. What is, however, essential to the reputation and effective working of the institution, is that Germany should be admitted with as little delay as may be, and that an accommodation should be arrived at with the Soviet State. Nothing could be more injurious to the prospects of an institution which relies for its influence primarily and in most instances exclusively upon the force of public opinion, than the suspicion that it is the partisan instrument of the Powers who were victorious in the late War. It is true that the admission of Austria and Bulgaria at the first Assembly of the League went some way to dissipate that suspicion. Nevertheless, the suspicion persists on either side of the Atlantic, and will not be dispelled until the Germans take their place among the delegates of Geneva.

That France should still be reluctant to sanction such liberality is not surprising. She has suffered much, and her wounds are still fresh and gaping. Moreover, she acts upon the thesis that, the Covenant being a treaty, and the essential spirit of the Covenant being respect for treaties, no power should be admitted to the League who has not furnished material guarantees of its readiness to abide by its plighted word. And in the conduct of Germany hitherto she fails to find the required manifestations of loyalty. She does not believe that the Germans are disarmed, and she suspects them of shamming beggary to escape the indemnities. The question, however, arises whether, even admitting that these assumptions are well-founded, it would be wise for the League to refuse Germany should she desire admission. What harm could she do in the League which she cannot equally do outside it? And what profits are there attaching to continued exclusion which are not demonstrably overshadowed by the loss attendant upon a failure to build up the League upon the broad basis of general co-operation? Indeed, if the League does not

widen its borders, its influence and authority will pass to Conferences framed upon a looser and more liberal principle. It is, at once, a source of weakness and of strength for the League, that its activities are assumed in the political settlement which the Allied and Associated Powers have imposed or have attempted to impose upon the world—of weakness, since an agency for the administration of any part of the Peace Treaties is necessarily suspect to the vanquished parties; of strength, since the Treaties confer upon the League an immediate and established place in the current international activities of Europe.

The League is then at once easy to assail and difficult to uproot. The German critic of the Treaties regards this pacific organisation as in effect an instrument for their defence. The French defender of the Treaties knows that, however distasteful some features of the League may be to Chauvinist opinion, it could not be dissolved without reopening the question of the Saar and of Dantzig. On the whole, it has been a fortunate circumstance that the League has not been invoked to liquidate the penal clauses of the Peace Settlement, and that this unpleasant and thorny business has been left to the Supreme Council and the Reparations Commission. Arbitral awards seldom, if ever, bring general satisfaction in their train; Lord Bryce cites the Newfoundland Fishery Arbitration of 1912 as 'the only or almost the only case in history where both parties were perfectly well satisfied.' It is not then surprising that the League failed to satisfy both parties in the most important political controversy arising out of the Treaties which it has been called on to settle; but it may be urged in defence that the League's Silesian decision was based upon an invaluable principle, and that the forebodings, which were so fully expressed at the time that the division of the 'industrial triangle,' would prove fatal to output and economic efficiency, have not in effect been realised.

One of the real difficulties which the League has to confront is money. In all Parliaments grumbles are heard at the expense of the League. Some States are dilatory with their contributions. In every country there is the critical economist who asks himself whether

the League is worth its cost. Let it be explained that the British contribution under the new allocation of expenses does not amount to one two-thousandth part of the cost of the coal strike, that the total annual contribution of the whole world to the League is only one-seventh of the cost of our biggest battleship, that the League has already removed some serious causes of difference which might easily have led to armed conflict, not to speak of its achievement in arresting one little war in the Balkans—such computations and comparisons still fail to remove the objection that this is a contribution to international purposes, and that while all contributions are unpleasant, contributions to international purposes are irritating as well. Meanwhile, those who criticise the League for having done too little may be reminded that we have not yet reached the situation of the world which was contemplated as the destined scene of its operations. The framers of the Covenant postulated a world peace maintained by a world organisation. They did not regard the League as an instrument for procuring peace, but as an organ for averting or postponing war. They did not think of it as an association of a few Powers, but as a combination of all the Powers. And in so far as these two expectations are still unfulfilled, the League necessarily falls short of the original ideas which presided over its making and is hampered in its execution of many important tasks.

There is another respect in which events have shown their habitual perversity in frustrating or weakening a well-laid design. It was decreed that the Non-European territories wrested from Turkey and Germany in the war were not to be annexed but 'mandated.' There was to be no vulgar conquering exploitation. The mandatory Government was to be the Trustee, administering the estate committed to it by the Allied and Associated Powers impartially, without an eye to profit, under conditions prescribed by the League, and exposed to the surveillance of a mandatory Commission. No one will quarrel with so noble a conception of international duty. What, however, was less regarded at the time was the likelihood that the acquisition of these territories, far from being a source of profit to the Mandatory Powers,

might involve them in heavy pecuniary losses and grave and constant political anxieties. If Palestine is a garden of Eden, the roses have many thorns, and the gardener goes his way amid a cloud of stinging flies. Labouring in an alien land at an ungrateful task, the harassed administrator of the mandated territory may fail to appreciate the criticisms of aliens who neither share his burden nor measure his perplexities; and, as the difficulties of the Mandatory Powers accumulate, the task of the Mandatory Commission becomes increasingly delicate. Nor is the Mandate a form of political relation which is universally popular. With their dark eyes fixed upon French methods in Syria, the susceptible politicians of Bagdad already suspect the Mandate to be an alias for a military ascendancy.

The doctrine of the Mandates is in itself so sound and, moreover, so consonant with British traditions of government, that it is greatly to be hoped that it will strike firm root. What, however, is doubtful is whether there is in the world a sufficient reserve of political and moral power to discharge the multifarious responsibilities which the Covenant lays on the members of the League. We are all a little tired. The war has made everything more uncomfortable than it was before. The strain and the impoverishment of Europe are telling on the nerves. When, then, we learn that it is the duty of the Christian Powers, as it undoubtedly is, to shelter the wretched Armenians, to provide for the protection of the Greek minorities in the Smyrna vilayet, and that as members of the League we are pledged to watch over minorities in Poland and Rumania, and to see that the French observe the spirit and terms of their mandate in Syria, and that the Belgians behave with an equal measure of philanthropic temper in their African possessions; and when we reflect again that it is part of our duty to keep the Magyar within the boundaries which have been assigned to him, and to prevent the Pole from establishing himself in Dantzic or from overwhelming Lithuania, we are tempted to ask ourselves whether we are not laying upon the Angel of Peace a burden heavier than she is at present able to bear. To build up the international mind after the lesion of the last few years is a slow and difficult task. We must not expect too

much at once. If in every year something useful is done and some forward step is taken, we should be reasonably content. A retrospect of the League's activities during the last two years gives no ground for despondency.

It may, however, be asked whether the League, with its Council and Assembly and Secretariat and Commissions, is destined to play a decisive or only a subordinate part in the moulding of international policy. So far its part has been subordinate. It has done some good preventive work, settled some troublesome political controversies, established an International Court of Justice, and discharged the administrative functions devolved on it by the Treaty with reasonable efficiency. But the great political decisions have not been taken in the League. The Prime Ministers of the great nations attend neither Council nor Assembly. The Foreign Secretaries are tied to their offices at home. The debates of the Assembly, though affording a valuable barometer of political feeling in different parts of the world and useful opportunities for mutual acquaintanceship, neither bind the Governments nor appear to exercise a repercussion in those areas of the world in which it is particularly important to augment the force of civilised opinion. Some day, however, the cloud of impending war may again menace the world. Then, however feeble may be the pulse of its diurnal business, the thoughts of peace-loving men will turn to the League, as to a barrier erected by the foresight and wisdom of the statesmen of this age against the surging tides of warlike passion which, being once loosed and having spent their fury, leave behind them famine and pestilence and the undoing of law. Then an appeal will be made to a tribunal whose competence none will deny, for it will have been accepted by all in advance; and such an appeal being once lodged, the true voice of reason and humanity may even at the eleventh hour obtain its hearing.

Art. 12.—AUSTRALIA INFELIX: THE PROBLEM OF
THE NORTHERN TERRITORY.

1. *Territoria*. By David Lindsay, F.R.G.S., and A. L. Hottze, F.R.H.S. Adelaide, 1909.
2. *In Australian Tropics*. By Alfred Searcy. Kegan Paul, 1907.
3. *Annual Reports by the Administrator of the Northern Territory* (Dr Gilruth). Department of External Affairs, Melbourne.
4. *Parliamentary Debates*. Melbourne, 1912-1921. Printed by A. J. Mullett for the Commonwealth Government. And other works.

THE region known by the vague title of the 'Northern Territory,' which, since the commencement of the year 1911, has been under the control of the Federal Parliament of Australia, has lately attracted an unusual amount of attention. Twice within a brief space of time its tiny capital was the scene of disturbances of a serio-comic character suggestive of the unquiet political atmosphere of a South American city. The proposal lately made by the Premier of South Australia that, in view of the lamentable failure of the policy hitherto followed, the development of the region should be attempted by means of coloured labour has excited a lively controversy. Previously the wisdom of the 'White Australia' doctrine, in its extreme sense, had been challenged only by medical authorities, ethnologists, travellers, and persons possessed of lengthy tropical experience, together with a few philanthropists, whose objections to the exclusion of coloured aliens from Australia were based on purely humanitarian considerations. Such criticism does not count for much in politics. Mr Barwell is the first head of an Australian Government to question the wisdom, and to denounce the results, of the 'White Australia' policy, regarded solely as a policy; and his courageous utterances have caused serious perturbation in those political circles where popular catch-words, and the votes they attract, are accepted as the most convincing arguments.

In certain respects the Territory may claim unique distinction. For its size, unless indeed the Antarctic

continent be included among British possessions, it is the most sparsely populated region in the Empire. Its government, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, is also by far the most costly, and it is burdened with the heaviest public debt. The census returns issued in August 1921 gave the total population of the Northern Territory, exclusive of some 30,000 aboriginals, as 3870, of whom 2821 were males, or about one inhabitant to each 175 square miles of country. Even this pitiful total has been considerably diminished since the census was taken; and the number includes a large non-British element, consisting of Greeks, Russians, and other foreigners, as well as about 1300 Asiatics and half-castes. According to figures quoted by Senator Pratten in the Federal Parliament, notwithstanding an aggregate expenditure for administrative purposes of 1,655,000*l.*,* and 428,000*l.* more on public works (not counting 1,346,000*l.* which represents the accumulated interest on the public debt, amounting to nearly 4,000,000*l.*), the non-aboriginal population of the Territory, during the ten years that have elapsed since the Commonwealth relieved South Australia of the burden of its maintenance, has only increased by the modest total of sixty-four.

Stock-raising is at present the only really profitable industry carried on in the Territory, although about 200 Europeans, and a rather larger number of Chinese, make a somewhat precarious living by mining. The once flourishing maritime industry of pearl-shelling is now in a decadent condition, partly owing to the depletion of the beds, and partly on account of labour restrictions. But pastoral occupations are the most wasteful of land and most economical of labour of all forms of industrial activity; and the huge cattle stations scattered over the interior of the Territory (the coastal belt, as a rule, is too swampy and 'sour' for grazing purposes), only support collectively a few hundred white men. Native

* According to figures given in the last Commonwealth Year Book, the total revenue collected in the Territory during the year 1919-1920 amounted to 86,735*l.* The expenditure for the same year was 462,264*l.*, including interest on loans. The deficit, therefore, was 375,529*l.* If the amount lost in connexion with the working of the Port Augusta railway and that spent on new works were deducted, the net deficit would be 254,069*l.*

stock-riders, in spite of the resistance of the formidable organisation known as the Australian Workers' Union, are largely employed; and a couple of white overseers, assisted by half a dozen black stockmen, can easily manage a herd of some thousands of cattle grazing over a 'run' equal in extent to an English county. Still, notwithstanding the fact that the Territory possesses the largest individual cattle station to be found in Australia, the property known as Victoria Downs, on which about 100,000 cattle are usually depastured, the total number of stock in the whole region, according to the most recent figures, does not yet average one animal to the square mile. Remoteness from the southern and eastern markets heavily penalises the northern grazier.

Pastoralists receive highly liberal treatment at the hands of the authorities. Nearly 90,000,000 acres of the best grazing lands in the Territory are let for long terms at the modest rates of from 6d. to 3s. per square mile per annum. The extent of the domains held by certain lease-holders, or companies, may be judged by the fact that at a recent Government Inquiry, the manager for Messrs Vestey stated that his firm alone held on lease 23,000 square miles of country in the Northern Territory, besides another 8000 square miles held on licence, and a comparatively insignificant plot of 30,000 acres near Darwin. Collectively, these holdings almost equal in extent the whole of Ireland. Four lessees in the Victoria Downs district hold between them grazing rights over 36,000 square miles of country; and seventeen enjoy similar rights over 81,000 square miles. Cattle are chiefly kept. Unlike the other great divisions of the Australian continent, the Territory so far has failed, except in a very small degree, to attract sheep-breeders. Unsuitability of the natural pastures, and lack of labour, and of means of cheap transport, are the chief obstacles to successful wool-production. Horses, however, are bred and exported in fairly considerable numbers. Altogether, according to figures given in the last Commonwealth Year Book, 610,534 cattle, 8811 sheep, and 35,539 horses, besides a limited number of camels and goats, constitute the entire pastoral wealth of the Northern Territory at the present time. There is, therefore, it will be seen, ample scope for pioneering enterprise.

For lack of data no reliable estimate of the value of the mineral resources of the Territory can yet be attempted. The late Rev. J. E. Tennyson Woods, F.G.S., in a report on the geology of the region prepared in the year 1887, expressed indeed a sanguine opinion of its potentialities in this direction.

'I confidently assert,' he then wrote, 'that the Northern Territory is exceptionally rich in minerals. . . . I do not believe that the same quantity of mineral veins of gold, silver, tin, copper, and lead will be found in any other equal area in Australia. In fact, I doubt if any provinces will be found in any country so singularly favoured as Arnheim's Land in respect to mineral riches.'

Later experience has scarcely justified this favourable forecast. During the year ending June 30, 1918, the total yield of all the mines in the Territory, according to the Administrator's last official report, was valued at the modest sum of 92,730 $\frac{1}{2}$ l., tin and wolfram contributing about 80,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. of this amount. The gold-bearing reefs at Pine Creek have so far entirely disappointed expectations; and no rich alluvial goldfield has yet been discovered. Still, all but a minute fraction of the Territory may be regarded as virgin ground to the prospector; and there is room for many Coolgardies and Broken Hills in the recesses of tropical Australia.

A brief sketch of the physical and climatic features of the Territory may possibly assist the distant reader to form some idea of its capabilities. A glance at the map will show that the whole of it, except a strip of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ degrees wide in the extreme south, lies within the torrid zone. It forms a compact block, about 900 miles from north to south, and 500 miles from east to west, with a coast line slightly exceeding 1000 miles in length. Unlike the eastern States of Australia, the Territory possesses no coast range, the littoral being low and flat, and skirted in many places by dense forests of mangroves. As the traveller proceeds inland the country gradually rises, reaching, at about 150 miles from the sea, an elevation of 800 feet, and culminating in an eminence a little over 4000 feet in height, known as Bald Hill, near the South Australian border. This natural conformation favours the growth of great rivers, which, instead of dwindling

and finally expiring in shallow salt lakes like the inland water-courses of Queensland and South Australia, steadily increase in volume, and at last enter the sea through broad and navigable channels. Climatically, the non-existence of a coastal range is beneficial, since the moisture-laden winds from the ocean, instead of being intercepted and almost drained by highlands close to the shore, gradually distribute their vivifying stores of water over a vast extent of country in the interior. The evils of alternate deluge and drought are consequently minimised. According to careful estimates based on actual records, about 86,000 square miles of country in the Territory, for the most part adjacent to the sea, enjoy an annual rainfall exceeding 40 inches yearly; 120,000 square miles receive from 20 to 30 inches; and over at least one-half of the remaining 220,000 square miles, or thereabouts, an annual fall averaging rather more than 10 inches—the bare minimum necessary for pastoral purposes—prevails. In no other part of Australia of equal extent is the rainfall so evenly distributed.

There are, of course, large tracts of fairly well-watered country which, owing to their broken and stony nature, are fitted for nothing except perhaps mining exploitation. Moreover, other extensive tracts of well-watered country near the coast have hitherto proved valueless even for stock-raising purposes, owing to the innutritious nature of the indigenous grasses and herbage and the prevalence of stock diseases. Systematic drainage and the introduction of suitable fodder plants might, however, render a large portion of this so far unprofitable country productive; and the adoption of scientific precautions against such maladies as swamp-cancer, red-water, and the curious 'walk-about' disease, as well as the tick pest, will ultimately, it may be hoped, lead to a considerable extension of the pastoral areas. But outside of, or sprinkled among, the 'barrens' there are tracts of abounding fertility. Marvellously rich alluvial soil covers the valleys and plains, through which the great rivers of the Territory creep sluggishly to the sea. These enjoy exceptional advantages for agricultural development. In such streams as the Victoria, the Daly, the Roper, the Adelaide, and the McArthur, the Territory possesses the finest natural waterways in the Australian

continent, with the exception possibly of the Fitzroy in West Australia, and the Murray.

Chinese experts have pronounced the valley of the Adelaide to be equal in natural richness to the famous rice-lands of Hainan. The plains adjacent to the Victoria, the Daly, and the Margaret rivers are equally fertile. Sugar, cotton, rubber, rice, indigo, coffee, and many varieties of fibre plants, sisal hemp in particular, have been experimentally grown there and elsewhere with the most encouraging results. Cotton thrives admirably; and Northern Australia, if fully developed, could supply the textile needs of Lancashire as completely as the southern and central portions of the continent now supply those of Yorkshire. Further inland, and eastwards, the rich black soil of the Barkly tableland, some 20,000,000 acres in extent, is believed by some authorities to be adapted for wheat-growing. A similar tract on the upper Victoria, nearly twice as extensive and equally fertile, may yet rival the famous 'black lands' of Russia, or the Canadian prairies, as a source of food supplies. So far, however, the suitability of the areas just referred to for the production of wheat has not been practically demonstrated; and their remoteness would in any case, until means of cheap transport had been provided, forbid their cultivation. Of the success that, were suitable labour obtainable, would attend agricultural operations in several coastal districts within easy reach of deep water there can be no doubt whatever.

In view of the striking advantages just enumerated, and others that might be added, the question naturally suggests itself, Why, after a century of British ownership and nominal occupation, does the Territory remain an almost empty wilderness? How is it that millions of acres of rich land, skirting large navigable rivers and regularly watered by copious monsoon rains, still remain uninhabited and untilled; while, within easy reach of the northern shores of Australia, hundreds of millions of people, crowded to repletion, struggle desperately for the bare necessities of life? A single island, Java, separated only by a narrow strip of sea from Australia, contains at present more than six times the number of inhabitants dwelling in a continent sixty times its size.

That the whole extent of the Australian continent north of the Tropic of Capricorn is occupied to-day by fewer white inhabitants than may be found in each of at least half a dozen provincial towns in England, is a fact that must be due to some special causes.

Government by an absentee and, so far as tropical problems are concerned, an ignorant legislature and executive may be mentioned as one of the minor causes of the deplorable stagnation prevailing in the Northern Territory. The Commonwealth's chief representative there has never been allowed a free hand in administrative matters. He may recommend new measures, or the alteration of those that have proved unsuitable to local conditions; but the Federal Ministry in Melbourne, two thousand miles away, subject to rather perfunctory parliamentary supervision, alone possesses the power of drawing up Ordinances which operate as enactments in the Federal dependencies. Those Ordinances in a great degree bear traces of the noxious political influences exercised by the leaders of the southern trade unions, whose chief object is to keep all the Federal territories as a special industrial preserve for the white elect of Australia. Jealousy of private land-ownership, and an inveterate hostility to the employment of coloured labour of any kind, have always characterised the attitude of Australian Labour towards the Northern Territory. No matter how able and well-informed the Administrator may be, he is powerless to carry out, on his own initiative, any important beneficial measures. And his position is rendered all the more difficult by the outrageous attitude towards the Administration adopted by the local trade-unionists supported by their comrades in the south. It is scarcely too much to say that at the present time, the real rulers of the Northern Territory are the officials of the chief labour organisation represented there, the Australian Workers' Union. This body dominates the Darwin Municipal Council, the local bureaucracy, and, through the affiliated industrial organisations in the south, especially when the Labour party commands a majority there, the Federal Parliament.

The white-ant pest is sometimes adduced as a reason for the lack of agricultural settlement in the Northern

Territory. Undoubtedly white ants are far more numerous and destructive there than elsewhere in Australia. But they are, or were, equally abundant in many closely settled districts in Africa; and their ravages, by the exercise of certain precautions, can be held in check. The same remark applies to the mosquito, the scourge of the tropics, whose presence in all parts of tropical Australia inspires the white toiler to outbursts of exuberant blasphemy. The white ant of Darwin, it must be admitted, is an insect of unusual powers and appetite. Besides wool, leather, and such comestibles, it is said to devour such unappetising fare as lead pipes and billiard balls. Mosquitoes and white ants together make living conditions in the Territory, to the white man, decidedly unpleasant; but worse enemies have been overcome by settlers in other new countries.

Apologists of the orthodox 'White Australia' school usually attribute the 'pernicious anæmia,' from which the Northern Territory has suffered ever since it first became a British possession, chiefly to the remoteness of the region from the comparatively populous portions of the Australian continent. Isolation, they confidently assert, has been throughout the root cause of the prevailing malady. But it may be pointed out that, in a geographical sense, the Territory is far less isolated than New South Wales. It is not, like Switzerland or Bolivia, a land-locked country. It has a long coast-line, and is within easy steaming distance of the most populous countries in the world. It is nearer Europe, as well as Asia, than either Victoria, New South Wales, or Queensland. Its capital, Darwin, is the real front-door of the Australian continent; and the Territory possesses all those natural facilities in the way of harbours, navigable rivers, rich and well-watered lands and easily accessible markets, necessary to render a country self-supporting. The 'isolation' plea is, therefore, insufficient. British Columbia up to a quite recent time was as much isolated from Canada, and California as much cut off from the older States of the American Union, as the Northern Territory is still from Victoria; yet both those provinces made considerable progress before railway communication with the eastern shores of America had been accomplished. The completion of the long-delayed

railway from Darwin to Adelaide or, preferably, Brisbane would be of considerable strategical value, stimulate pastoral settlement in the central regions of Australia, and cause a regular flow of travellers and tourists through the Territory; but it would do nothing towards establishing the vital and paramount industry of agriculture there, and settling a permanent population on the soil. Failing a fundamental change of policy in regard to the development of tropical Australia, a railway across the centre of the continent from north to south would merely mean a heavy addition to the burdens already borne by the Australian tax-payer.*

In the brief sketch already given of the industries carried on in the Northern Territory no particular reference was made to agriculture. The reason for this apparently strange omission is simple. There is practically no agricultural industry in the region. Even the vegetables consumed by the residents of Darwin are largely imported. A neglected waste some sixty acres in extent near the capital known as the Botanical Gardens, a few cultivated plots in the same vicinity on which Chinamen grow pineapples, bananas, etc., for the use of the white residents, and a couple of Government 'Demonstration Farms,' each 2560 acres in extent, constitute almost the only signs of agricultural activity in the Territory. About fifteen settlers were induced some years ago to take up land in the Daly River district, but late reports indicate that most of these holdings have been abandoned. Since all the agricultural products officially recorded to have been exported from the Territory during the year 1918 consisted of nine bales of broom millet, which were sold in Melbourne for the modest sum of 42*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, and a box of butter, it seems clear that, making the amplest allowance for the requirements of the minute local population, the northern

* According to figures compiled by Mr S. W. B. Macgregor, the Senior British Trade Commissioner in Australia, the loss on the four existing Federal Government railways for the year ending June 30, 1921, including interest on cost of construction, was 445,200*l.* Since the bridging of the 1000-mile gap between Oodnadatta and the Katherine River necessary to complete the transcontinental railway would cost not less than 8,000,000*l.*, and the traffic returns for a number of years would be negligible, the financial objections to the carrying out of the project are obvious.

farmer in Australia has not yet found the road to success in his vocation. A few years ago some 200 Welshmen, attracted by Government blandishments, went to the Northern Territory by the unusual route of Patagonia. They firmly refused, however, like the Greeks, Russians, Egyptians, and other elements of the composite population of the country, to become tillers of the soil. A place like Darwin, where the average maximum shade temperature exceeds 90°, and the mean annual temperature is about four degrees higher than that of Colombo, could hardly be expected to encourage strenuous outdoor exertion. 'It is a lamentable fact,' wrote Dr Gilruth, the late Administrator, just before his retirement, 'that the only improvement made in the way of cultivation on land in Darwin or its vicinity are those made by the Chinese on annual leaseholds.' And yet abundance of land of good quality lying close to the railway within a short distance of Darwin can be purchased at the moderate price of 2s. per acre. In more remote localities land of the richest kind can be had practically for nothing; and the Government offers liberal assistance to settlers.

The Government 'Demonstration Farms' have served the negatively useful purpose of demonstrating how easily money can be wasted by foolish legislators. The local functionary, bearing the imposing title of Director of Lands and Agriculture, issues periodically elaborate reports of a gloomy complexion concerning the attempts made, under State direction, to foster agricultural settlement in the Territory. With wise reticence the Administration furnishes in the annual Report no statement of accounts. Evidently, however, the official mind has at last become convinced that white hands are not adapted for tropical cultivation, as it has been decided in future to utilise both farms chiefly as stock-raising establishments. How costly and unreliable white labour is in the Territory may be understood when it is mentioned that * 85 men were at first employed on the two farms, and that 50 of these abandoned their occupation in the course of twelve months. The wages then paid varied from 10s. to 15s. per day of eight hours, but these rates have

* Report of the Administrator for the year 1912.

since been considerably increased. It is only fair to add that, in its pastoral enterprises, the Government has succeeded much better. The Mataranka sheep and cattle station is a well-managed and profitable concern, the reasons being that the position on the Roper River was judiciously chosen, a capable manager was appointed, and, most important of all, the services of but few men are required to look after stock. Fortunately, agricultural experiments at Mataranka are limited to the planting of a few acres with fodder crops, which do not appear to yield profitable results.

Under wise management the Territory would unquestionably be a most valuable possession to the people fortunate enough to own it, the home of a large settled population, and the source of abundant revenues to the State. Actually it is now, as it always has been, a purely parasitic dependency of the Commonwealth, an undeveloped estate whose development, owing to the dominance of a mischievous political superstition, has been artificially prevented. Figures have already been quoted which show approximately the monetary loss entailed on Australian tax-payers through the remissness of Federal legislators, whose ears, while deaf to the appeal of Nature, are always ready to listen with attention to the ignorant clamour of the demagogue. Votes, unfortunately, to the professional politician, are the only convincing arguments; and the legions of the Australian trade-unions are determined that the white dog shall remain in exclusive occupation, not only of the continental manger, but of the whole stable.

In Northern Queensland, during the more enlightened days that preceded the birth of the fatal racial policy now enforced throughout the continent, a prosperous and self-supporting sugar-growing industry flourished. Ensured of a cheap and sufficient supply of coloured labour, capitalists spent large sums in clearing jungles, erecting buildings and machinery, and planting cane. With the help of the inoffensive Kanaka they produced sugar which, without the aid of duties or State subsidies of any kind (excepting an import duty of 3*l.* per ton on foreign sugar in Queensland itself), was sold at a profit, not only in all parts of Australia, but also in foreign countries. Federation and the evil influences exercised

by the powerful trade unions of Victoria and New South Wales over Commonwealth legislation speedily imposed a decisive check on the further expansion of the greatest of Australian tropical industries. The first Federal Parliament expelled the Kanaka and prohibited the further engagement of coloured labour. A system of high duties and bounties was introduced to compensate planters for the enforced substitution of expensive, unreliable, and unsuitable labour for that which had proved to be cheap, reliable, and efficient. The natural legs of a great industry were deliberately cut off, and a pair of clumsy and extremely expensive wooden limbs provided in their stead. Ever since that disastrous operation sugar-growing in Australia has been a parasitic industry, continually disturbed by labour disputes, and the cause of heavy losses, both direct and indirect, to the Australian public. So far back as the year 1912, those losses were roughly computed at from 1,200,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.* a year; now they are much higher. The traffic in sugar has become a strict Government monopoly in Australia. No importations by merchants or private individuals are permitted. Under an agreement made with the Queensland cane-growers in March 1920, the Federal Government purchases all the raw sugar produced at 30*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per ton, and after paying costs of refining and distribution, sells it to the grocers at 47*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* per ton, the retail price being fixed at 6*d.* per lb. Owing to the shortage of the Queensland production, the Government has been compelled to import, at great expense, about 100,000 tons of sugar during each of the last two years; and, in consequence of these costly transactions, the sugar consumer in Australia has now to pay about 3*d.* per lb. for his sugar in excess of the world's parity. In the course of the late tariff debate, a member of the Ministry in the Senate estimated the direct loss to the community now entailed in supporting the Queensland sugar industry at no less than 5,000,000*l.* a year. To this must be added the very considerable indirect losses suffered by fruit-growers and jam manufacturers. At a recent meeting of representatives of these important industries in Melbourne, it was stated that, under the present absurd conditions, jam made in England could be exported to Australia and, after payment of duty, be sold

there at prices below those which the local manufacturer was compelled to charge to make a reasonable profit. It is admitted by the sugar-growers themselves that, within the last three years only, the subsidies directly or indirectly bestowed on their industry have exceeded in amount the capital value of all the plantations and mills in Queensland. The economic failure of the 'White Australia' policy in Queensland is beyond all doubt.

Unlike Queensland, the Northern Territory never possessed any agricultural industry worthy of the name. Its South Australian masters decreed at the beginning that, in relation to the land, the rule 'hands off' should be strictly applied to the coloured alien. His services indeed were utilised by the Government to build the railway from Darwin to Pine Creek; and several thousand Chinese coolies were imported for that purpose. But, on the completion of the work just mentioned, these Mongolians were refused permission to settle on the land and add to the wealth and comfort of the community, and were compelled either to take refuge in domestic service or to migrate to the mining-fields, where the white miners did not in the least appreciate their companionship. Hands which should have been usefully employed under European guidance in plying hoe and plough on plantations were thus occupied in the profitable task of washing plates and dishes in the kitchens of Darwin officials, or that of laboriously gleaning gold which, as a rule, was sent to the finder's poor relations in China. Even the sea, as a source of income, was ultimately forbidden to the unpopular Celestial. For some years, owing to the enterprise of Chinese fishermen, the residents of Darwin were regularly provided with a cheap and abundant supply of fish. But this state of things displeased the leaders of the local trade union who, complaining of 'unfair competition,' induced the Labour Government at Adelaide to issue an order that no more fishing licences should be granted to coloured applicants. By this Act of petty persecution no one—except the fish—benefited. But it appeased the jealousy of the local politicians, and vindicated the claims of their friends in the south as champions of 'White Australia.'

On relieving South Australia of her voracious yet languishing adopted child, the Federal Government

resolved on a policy of vigorous encouragement and resuscitation. It at once adorned the emaciated limbs of the starving patient with a most brilliant official uniform, furnished him with an imposing retinue of advisers, and filled his pockets with gold. But it forgot to give him food. By maintaining the racial blockade it sentenced the rich lands of the Territory to continued unproductiveness. The most liberal inducements, certainly, were offered to prospective white cultivators of the right colour. But the few who, yielding to these allurements, visited the country soon found out that they had been invited to a Barmecide feast. Nature's bountiful gifts lay spread before each guest, but, by a senseless prohibition, he was forbidden to partake of them.

The 'White Australia' policy, when restricted to the maintenance of white sovereignty over the whole continent, is both feasible and commendable. The absolute exclusion of coloured aliens from the regions enjoying a temperate climate, and from the hot but dry inland plateaux of the North where Europeans can work in the open air without detriment to health, is also defensible. But experience and common sense alike condemn the extension of the rule of racial discrimination to the coastal districts in the tropics, where extreme heat and humidity prevail. The most elementary knowledge of racial physiology confirms this condemnation. Dr Antill Pockley, a highly competent authority on the question, in a letter contributed to the 'Medical Journal of Australia' some time ago, expressed what is practically the unanimous opinion of the members of his profession in the Commonwealth.

'The only successful development by whites of tropical countries,' he wrote, 'has been by coloured labour under the supervision of whites, who only remain there for short periods. To this statement I know of no exception. It has been found that whites cannot do more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day of mental work in the shade of houses without developing tropical neurasthenia. It is only politicians, and those whose ardent desire for a White Australia is so great that they close their eyes to facts, who profess to think that tropical Australia can be an exception to a universal law of Nature. What has been our short experience of attempting to develop

tropical Australia by white labour? It is a thousand pities to see this fine country wasted for the want of the one thing needed to develop its enormous resources, coloured labour.'

After nearly ten years' residence in tropical Australia, and the enjoyment of considerable opportunities for observation, the present writer fully concurs in the opinion thus forcibly expressed. Experiments carried out by the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine at Townsville in 1918, to test the effect of outdoor work in the tropics on white men, led to the conclusion that 'it is impossible for white men to continue heavy manual labour under true tropical conditions for the same time as in a temperate region without raising the body temperature to a degree of danger.' The immediate effects of sustained physical exertion in a tropical climate, lassitude, nervous exhaustion, and weakened heart action, are bad enough; the remoter, affecting the offspring of whites who live permanently in the tropics, are worse. Degeneration and ultimate sterility are the invariable results of so unnatural an environment. The 'mean white' of the southern states of the United States has already become unpleasantly prominent in the coastal towns of North Queensland; and industrial shirkers of his type are responsible for nearly all the many labour disputes that occur there.

A recent official statement affords an amusingly vivid illustration of some of the economic disadvantages that attend the enforcement of the 'White Australia' policy in the Northern Territory. In order to maintain communication between the town of Darwin and one or two small coastal settlements in its vicinity the Government until quite recently ran a small steamer manned by five men. On a recent trip to the Daly River this vessel carried four passengers and nine tons of cargo, the total sum paid for fares and freight being 24*l*. The expenses of the trip, conscientiously recorded, were as follows: wages of crew, 46*l*.; costs of loading at Darwin jetty, with the help of steam cranes and suitable mechanical appliances, 35*l*.; petrol fuel and provisions, 83*l*.—total, 164*l*. A whole day was occupied by the gentlemen of leisure belonging to the wharf-labourers' union at Darwin in transferring the nine tons of cargo from the jetty to

the steamer. When the latter reached its destination the work of unloading was accomplished in exactly $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours by a few blacks, without any mechanical assistance whatever, in return for a modest fee of half a dozen sticks of tobacco. There were plenty of idle natives at Darwin who might have been usefully employed in a similar way, but vested interests there forbade.

The white wharf-labourer at Darwin receives (one can hardly say earns) from 10*l.* to 12*l.* monthly for from two to three days' work in a month, work, too, not of a very arduous kind. He and his fellow-toilers cultivate with unusual success that spirit of discontent which is, perhaps, vinous rather than divine. More pay, more whisky, and less work, are their simple demands; and again and again they break out into revolt to enforce them. 'It is regrettable,' mournfully wrote the late Administrator (Dr Gilruth) in his final Report, 'that the Territory should have acquired a reputation for chronic industrial unrest combined with high wages; and so far there does not seem to be any prospect of a definite improvement.' It is yet more regrettable that legislators should be so blind as to be unable to see the obvious causes of the stagnation prevailing throughout tropical Australia, or so infatuated as to refuse to apply the natural remedy. The dry observation contained in the Report on the disturbances at Darwin furnished by Mr Justice Ewing to the Federal Government towards the end of 1920 points out with sufficient clearness the main economic objection to the employment of the white coolie in tropical agriculture. 'The Federal authorities,' he remarked, 'had conceived the idea that products could be grown in the Territory with wages from 3*l.* 10*s.* to 6*l.* per week, to compete with those that were being grown in Eastern countries with wages from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a day.' The authorities of the famous Academy of Laputa conceived ideas equally rational. But it is scarcely prudent to entrust the control of extensive territories to such experimental philosophers.

The problem of introducing to the Northern Territory and other portions of Australia, where similar climatic conditions prevail, coloured labour in quantities sufficient for their agricultural development, without subjecting the continent to the risk of an overwhelming Asiatic

invasion, or of harmful miscegenation, is by no means insoluble. It would be satisfactorily solved within half a dozen years, were it the good fortune of these regions to be controlled by a body of British administrators possessed of Indian or African experience, instead of by politicians dependent on the votes of ignorant and prejudiced city masses. Areas of low-lying fertile lands could be defined and proclaimed open for tropical cultivation. Planters of these lands would be allowed to import coloured labour from certain specified countries, preferably from India and Java, under engagement to work for fixed periods on reasonable terms. Government inspection and supervision would check abuses and forbid the growth of servile conditions. Coloured aliens would not be allowed to live outside the areas assigned to them, or to engage in any other occupation there, except agriculture, without special permission. There would seem to be no reasonable objection to allowing a certain number of Indians of good character to bring their wives and families to Australia and settle in certain tracts reserved for their use after they had worked for some years for white employers. The prospect of a small grant of land after, say, five years' service would be a strong incentive to industry and good behaviour; and the establishment of a few colonies of industrious and inoffensive Asiatics, British subjects by birth, on its northern coasts could hardly menace the safety of Australia. Rather, by expediting the real and effective occupation of a portion of the continent which, for want of population, is now exposed to foreign invasion, the security of the Commonwealth would be enhanced by the adoption of some such system. The wealth produced in the planting districts would yield revenues which would enable the Government to maintain the land, sea, and air forces necessary for the protection of the whole tropical littoral. It would be better for Australia voluntarily to admit coloured aliens now as friends and servants than to be compelled hereafter to admit them as enemies and masters.

In the course of the foregoing observations the problem of the Northern Territory and tropical Australia in general has been treated exclusively as an Australian problem. But it really and vitally concerns the whole

Empire. It is an Imperial problem of the first magnitude; and Great Britain, the Dominions of Canada, South Africa and New Zealand, and India, are all interested in its successful solution. They have, therefore, an incontestable right to be consulted; and the whole question of tropical settlement and coloured immigration might well be discussed at the next Imperial Conference. Inasmuch as there is grave reason to fear that the blight of Commonwealth racial legislation may at an early date be extended to the former German territories lately assigned, under mandate, to Australia, the matter is one of special urgency. A common responsibility connotes a common policy. It were preposterous that the autonomous powers possessed by a single Dominion should include the right to take provocative action of a kind that might involve the whole Empire in most perilous controversies. Great Britain as the predominant partner in the Empire has a special right to be consulted, seeing that she maintains the Navy which alone ensures the inviolability of Australia.

The Australian Monroe Doctrine interpreted, as now, in an extreme sense, is the expression rather of a dangerous political superstition than of a wise and practicable policy. It is a perpetual challenge to the multitudinous coloured races of Asia, and conflicts, not merely with their legitimate aspirations and material interests, but, what is far worse, with their self-respect. Affronts to national pride are always resented more deeply by sensitive peoples than material injuries; and a doctrine which lays down that the yellow or brown man is not, in any circumstances, fit to associate with the white man may be democratic but is scarcely wise. Nor is it easy to justify on moral grounds the assertion, on the part of 5,500,000 people of European origin, of an exclusive right of occupancy of a continent some 3,000,000 square miles in extent, while hundreds of millions of Asiatics in over-crowded countries close by suffer the miseries of chronic famine. Selfishness is no more excusable in nations than in individuals. And when claims, as immoral as they are arrogant, are based on impotence, they are apt to provoke, not merely indignation, but the far more dangerous feeling of contempt.

F. A. W. GISBORNE.

Art. 13.—IRELAND.

WHEN the 'Articles of Agreement' between Great Britain and Ireland were signed in London on Dec. 6 of last year, it was hoped that they would be welcomed by the Irish people as a generous settlement of an ancient quarrel. They went much further in the way of concession to national aspirations than had ever been contemplated by the Irish leaders of the past; and it was recognised at once by our Colonies and by the United States that an Irish grievance no longer existed. Unhappily, the extremist Republican section of Ireland was sufficiently powerful to retard an acceptance of the 'Treaty,' and to create and stimulate distrust of Mr de Valera's 'plenipotentiaries' who had signed it. The debates in 'Dail Eireann' during the month of December were a melancholy exhibition of the political inexperience of its members; and many observers thought that they provided a demonstration of the incapacity of the Irish people for self-government, so violent was the language used, so inconsequent the argument, and so irregular the procedure. Such a judgment may be too severe, and, in any case, the decision of Parliament to concede a large measure of independence to Ireland is not likely to be reversed. But it remains true that the attitude of Dail Eireann during the past six months has been a main cause of the present confusion and disorder. Attempts were made to show that Mr Griffith and Mr Collins had gone beyond their instructions in accepting the 'Treaty'; and one of the men who had signed it, Mr R. Barton, while honouring his signature so far as to vote for its acceptance in the Dail, did not scruple to suggest that it was signed in London under duress and that it would be wise to reject it. In the end, after much wearisome recrimination, Dail Eireann accepted the Treaty, on Jan. 7, by 64 votes to 57; and the elected members of the Southern Irish Parliament, as legally constituted, ratified the acceptance a week later.

The Southern Parliament was speedily adjourned, and the government of the country was assumed by 'provisional' ministers who had been appointed, not by any legally authorised body but by Dail Eireann, an

illegal organisation of which each member was obliged to declare his allegiance to the ideals of an Irish Republic. These ministers were, however, recognised by the British Government, it being taken for granted that all of them had taken the oath, involving faithfulness to the King, which was prescribed by the Treaty. They began at once to exercise authority in various directions, and after a short delay their authority was confirmed by the British Parliament. The various public departments—the Post Office, Education, the Local Government Board, the police—were formally handed over to them; British troops were gradually withdrawn from Southern Ireland; famous Irish regiments, the Dublin Fusiliers, the Munster Fusiliers, the Connaught Rangers, and others were disbanded; and for the last three months the authority of Mr Michael Collins and his colleagues has been as complete as British goodwill and British legislation could make it. It was naturally expected, both in England and Ireland, that a draft Constitution would be speedily prepared and placed before the country, and also—now that British intervention was a memory of the past, and that obedience to law was no longer to be identified with loyalty to 'foreign' rule—that the Provisional Government would regard it as their first duty to suppress disorder and to punish crime. These expectations were sadly disappointed; and, whatever reasons may be assigned for it, the fact is that life and property have been less secure in Ireland during the period that has elapsed since the Provisional Government assumed responsibility, than they have been in living memory.

It is right to remember the difficult position in which the Irish Government found itself in the spring. No Government can preserve public order without the support of armed forces who can be counted on to act, when necessary, in accordance with the directions of the executive. But the Irish Provisional Government have never enjoyed the full confidence of the 'Irish Republican Army.' As their self-assumed title imports, the members of this army were enlisted to force Great Britain to recognise Ireland as a Republic. For years they engaged in guerilla warfare against British troops with this end in view. However unscrupulous their

methods, and however barbarous their actions, there is no doubt that they were sincere in their desire to 'win Irish freedom,' as they were accustomed to say. Most of them were youths under twenty-five years of age, and many of them under twenty. They had never done any useful work; and for some years they had been accustomed to no rule except the rule of the revolver. Some of them had been hanged for assassination; their memory was venerated as if they had been martyrs in a holy cause. If Ireland were to accept the 'Treaty,' and to settle down as an orderly and peaceful state within the British Empire, their occupation would be gone, and their ideals—however fatuous and mistaken—would become incapable of realisation. Furthermore, they were encouraged to a policy of intransigence by Mr de Valera and his supporters. Dail Eireann had, indeed, by a small majority, accepted the 'Treaty'; but many of them were not disposed to obey its dictates, if they seemed to conflict with Republican ideals. And so the 'army' was divided, in policy at least. The larger part was willing to follow the advice of Mr Griffith; but a substantial minority preferred to follow Mr de Valera. Thus the Government were not in a position, in every country district, to command the aid of their own armed forces; and they acquiesced in this absurd situation, lest by appealing to the 'loyal' troops to subdue the mutineers, they should set brother against brother and provoke bloodshed. Such, at least, was their excuse, and it may be added that it was not by any means certain that an order to the troops to suppress military indiscipline would have been obeyed. The members of the Irish Republican Army were agreed among themselves that they would not fight with each other, and it is likely that Mr Michael Collins, who had been so prominent in the guerilla warfare of 1920-21, sympathised with this attitude of his former companions.

At any rate, wherever the fault and whatever the reason, the sanctions of law and the penalties of crime disappeared from a large part of Ireland during last winter. The mutinous soldiery, who were not in every case paid by the Government, seized public buildings which might serve as barracks, robbed banks in order to get money for their needs, looted shops to procure food, and did all

this with complete impunity. The occupation of the Law Courts in Dublin by Mr Rory O'Connor and the lawless youths who form his 'army' has placed the greatest difficulties in the way of administering justice. The Courts were seized on April 14, and since that time the Judges have been obliged to transact business, as best they may, elsewhere. The theft of motor-cars has become so common, that many private owners have given up using them. The billeting of soldiers on private citizens, without any authority, in the name of the 'Irish Republic' has been a frequent cause of trouble in country places. And appeals to the Provisional Government to check such things have, in the large majority of cases, proved to be useless. Sympathy is expressed, and complicity with outrage is disclaimed; but protection has been too seldom offered. To check the scandalous excesses of the mutineers would demand the stern employment of superior force, and this the Provisional Government have been either unable or unwilling to command.

Again, the absence of an organised police force and the consequent freedom from penalty in the case of crime have encouraged professional criminals of every type. It is very remarkable that burglary has not been even more common than it has become, for there is no one to arrest the burglar. Private spite has been satisfied under the cloak of political enthusiasm. Splendid mansions have been burnt and looted—sometimes by organised violence, sometimes in the interest of sordid thieves—but there is no redress. Loyal citizens have been hunted from their homes, under the pretext that they are in sympathy with the enemies of Ireland, but really because landless men desire to seize and to occupy land that is not their own. And a campaign for the non-payment of rent has made rapid progress, so that at the time of writing large numbers of people and many institutions are deprived of all advantage from their estates. The Provisional Government avow themselves unable, for the time, to remedy this desperate situation. It may be so, but certainly such a plea of incapacity will not much longer be accepted as a legitimate excuse for the nonfulfilment of the primary duty of every Government, viz. the maintenance of law and order.

There is another cause of disturbance—perhaps the most potent of all. Until July 1921, the common enemy of all the armed forces of the Irish Republic was Great Britain; but it seems now to be Ulster, which stands aloof from the rest of Ireland, and is endeavouring to build up a separate state in accordance with the powers guaranteed to her by the Act of 1920. This partition of Ireland is abhorrent to all national sentiment; but that is not the sole or the main reason for the bloodshed on the Ulster border. The reason for that is to be found in the passions excited by the dreadful spectacle which Belfast presents. It is, in simple truth, a 'City of Destruction,' and the murders which have defiled its streets for many weeks past are all the more terrible, because the evidence as to their cause and their perpetrators is so much confused by party prejudice that it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain the actual facts.

The Orangeman's explanation of the troubles in Belfast is quite coherent. He alleges that during the war large numbers of Sinn Fein artisans came into the shipyards and factories, taking the places of Ulstermen who had enlisted for war service; that these men (who were mostly Roman Catholics from other parts of Ireland) were very aggressive and insolent in their demeanour, openly avowing their disloyalty and threatening peaceable citizens with firearms; that after the war was over and ex-soldiers came back to work they found the situation intolerable; that the Orange workmen declined to work side by side with rebels; that they insisted on Sinn Feiners disavowing republicanism if they were to earn wages in the great shipyards which had an imperial outlook; and that finally a large number of Sinn Feiners were dismissed from the yards, not because of their religion, but because their disloyalty was such that the Ulster artisans would not work or associate with them. The Orangeman alleges, further, that since July 1921, 'gunmen' have been sent into Belfast from the South of Ireland in order to provoke disturbance and make the task of the Northern Government impossible. It was they who murdered policemen and magistrates and (as lately as May 22) a member of Parliament in the streets of Belfast; and it is urged that the violent reprisals of which Orangemen have been

guilty are not surprising, when the provocation which they received is considered.

The story is differently told in the South. There, it is said, the beginning of the trouble was the expulsion in 1920 from the Belfast yards of 8000 Roman Catholic working men, by the bigotry of Orange fanatics whose religion is measured by their hatred of Papists. These people and their families have been obliged to fly from the North, and they are called in Dublin 'the Belfast refugees,' for whose support it is a sacred duty to provide. It was to give them shelter that the Masonic Hall and the Orange Hall and the Kildare Street Club and other public buildings in Dublin were seized. It is to avenge their hardships and sufferings on Ulstermen that the warfare on the Ulster border is being waged with such fury, and that the great factories in Belfast and great mansions in the counties of Antrim and Down are being burnt to the ground. And it is, avowedly, because of the persecution of Roman Catholics in Belfast that Protestant loyalists are being harried in many parts of Ireland outside Ulster, as the subjoined document will show. It is a copy of an original letter addressed to an Irish lady in a country district.

— Brigade,
— Division,
April 1922.

DEAR MADAM,

I am authorised to take over your house and all property contained, your lands and all contained thereon, and you are hereby given notice to hand over to me within one hour from receipt of this notice above lands and property.

The following are reasons for this action :

1. The campaign of murder in Belfast is financed by the British Government.
2. As a reprisal for the murder of innocent men, women, and children in Belfast.
3. You by supporting the Union between England and Ireland are in sympathy with the Belfast murders.
4. In order to support and maintain refugees from Belfast.

Signed,
_____.

At the foot of the letter is the receipt for the property, which was duly handed over, 'signed on behalf

of the Competent Military Authority' of the Republican Army.

Seizures of this kind have been made all over Ireland, and it is to be observed that it is the Belfast situation which is put forward as the pretext.

It is obvious that neither the Orange account nor the Sinn Fein account of the Belfast murders can be accepted as an impartial statement. Both sides are, undoubtedly, to blame, and it is quite idle to ask which side began the fighting. The number of Roman Catholics who have been murdered in the Northern capital during May and June is in excess of the numbers of murdered Protestants; but the numbers are so large on both sides that blood-guiltiness rests on Sinn Feiner and Orangeman alike. It is natural to ask why the Northern Government, with a fully organised executive and with undivided counsels, have not brought the assassins on both sides to justice long since; and the question is not easy to answer. The probability is that Sir James Craig is as little able to control the extremists among his Orange followers as Mr Collins to control his mutineers. It is impossible to believe (and absurd to suggest, as the Republican journals do) that the Northern Government encourage violence among their followers, although they may be too lax or too lenient in their methods of preventing or punishing violence. In a statement published on June 24 Mr de Valera had the hardihood to say: 'I know that women have been outraged, men and women have been murdered, whole families have been wiped out, and I share the common belief that a cynical Imperialism has instigated these outrages and provided the means for carrying them through.' This is very wicked nonsense. In like manner, we find it hard to believe that Mr Collins is directly responsible for the outrages of Roman Catholic assassins and incendiaries in the North of Ireland, although we think he has been very ill-advised in refraining from public denunciation of these outrages. His attitude towards the armed forces on the Free State side of the Ulster border has been curiously inconsistent, as he at one moment disavows responsibility for their acts, and at another complains that the British Government have sent troops against them. But there can be no doubt that the

dreadful murders in the North of Ireland recently committed (notably the murder of Protestant farmers in Co. Armagh last month) are a disgrace to any Christian community,* and that unless and until the Provisional Government of Ireland dissociate themselves unreservedly from the armed assassins who are guilty, peaceable citizens in Ireland, both North and South, will regard as suspect Mr Collins and his ministers who have undertaken responsibility for the administration of Irish affairs. The 'senseless war' on the Northern border, as Cardinal Logue has described it, must be stopped, and the 'worthless scamps' who are organising outrage must be punished, if either Great Britain or Ireland is to continue to put its trust in the Provisional Government.

So serious has been the position of Protestants in the South of the country during the last three months, that many hundreds have abandoned their homes through fear of death. At the instance of the members of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland who come from the Southern province, the Archbishop of Dublin sought an interview with Mr Collins in May, and asked for assurances that the lives of his people would be protected by the Government, as if that were not possible, a general exodus would be inevitable. Mr Collins is reported to have deprecated any such action, as Irish Churchmen play an important part in the life of the country; but it does not appear that in districts controlled by the Republican malcontents he has been able to provide any protection.

In the midst of these troubles, Mr Collins and Mr de Valera made a remarkable agreement on May 20. They jointly signed a 'pact,' which was to the effect that instead of contesting the elections which were to be held in June, a 'Coalition panel' for each constituency, including supporters of the Treaty and Republicans alike, should be laid before the electors. By this means it was expected that bloodshed would be avoided at the elections, which without some such agreement would have been accompanied by bitter fighting between the rival factions. It is satisfactory that this expectation was

* This was written before the dastardly assassination of Sir Henry Wilson in London on June 22.

fulfilled, and the elections on June 16 were held quietly, except for trifling outbreaks of violence at a few centres. But the 'pact' did not satisfy large sections of the Irish people, and independent candidates were put in nomination, in addition to those who had the Coalition 'coupon,' and it speaks well for the electors that many of these candidates were successful at the polls. That there was some intimidation is true; but it did not provoke murder, persons who were warned not to vote staying at home.

Meantime, for some months past, the members of the Irish Government and their advisers had in preparation a Draft Constitution, which was submitted to British ministers before it was published, in order that its agreement with the Treaty might be ensured. It is generally believed that the first draft had to be amended, as it was not considered by the representatives of Great Britain to be in accordance with the Articles of Agreement signed in December, which made it plain that Ireland must remain within the Empire, and recognise the King as the head of the legislature. But however that may be, a Constitution was published on the morning of the elections, June 16, which was declared by Mr Churchill, who had presided over the negotiations, to satisfy the terms of the Treaty. It affected little, if at all, the votes of the electors who had not had time to consider it; but it has been generally recognised that in accepting it as admissible, British ministers had gone to the extreme limits of concession. Whether it will be adopted by the Irish Parliament, or subsequently accepted by the Imperial Parliament, is not certain; but it is desirable that on the one side and the other it should be examined with care, for by the wisdom or unwisdom of its clauses the future prosperity of Ireland will be determined in large measure; while its imperial implications are essential for the security of the British Empire.

In terms, the Constitution recognises the King; 'the executive authority of the Irish Free State is hereby declared to be vested in the King'; his assent is required before any Bill passed by Parliament can be placed on the Statute Book. This assent is given, as in Canada, by the Governor-General, who has power to refuse or

reserve it, if he thinks fit. Again, every member of Parliament, whether in the Lower or the Upper House, must take the oath laid down in the Treaty of faithfulness to the King as well as of allegiance to the Irish Free State. And, finally, as in Canada, 'nothing in this Constitution shall impair the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave.' This is all in order, and is quite inconsistent with Republican ideals, as the extremists of the Republican party have already declared. But there remain certain clauses in the Constitution the force of which is not easy to understand, and which demand closer scrutiny.

Clauses 50-55 provide that the Executive Council shall consist of twelve ministers, of whom only four need be members of Parliament, although all must take the Oath.* Those who are not members of Parliament will be nominated by a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, and are to be 'as far as possible generally representative of the Irish Free State as a whole rather than of groups or of parties.' These ministers, although not members of Parliament, shall be allowed to speak in the Chamber, and shall have all the other privileges of members except the right to vote. This is an extraordinary provision from the democratic point of view. It actually decrees that a majority of ministers may be persons who have *not* been elected to Parliament by constituencies, and who do not seem to be responsible to any one for their actions or speeches, except in so far as it is provided that they may be removed from office by a vote of the Chamber. A Minister of Education or a Minister of Agriculture, in such a position, might do a great deal of mischief. The arrangement is unusual (although there are precedents), and needs explanation.

Again, there is a provision in Clause 47 by which any fifty thousand voters on the Register may initiate proposals for legislation, including proposals to amend the Constitution. Should Parliament not accept such proposals, they must be submitted to the people for decision by referendum, the Royal Assent being, of course, always

* The oath was not provided for in the 'Pact' of May 20.

essential. This is a clause which seems to have been borrowed from the Swiss Constitution, but which in the present condition of Irish political parties, is sure to breed mischief. It would be quite a simple matter to get fifty thousand electors to sign a petition for the abolition of the Oath of Allegiance, or for the necessity of the royal assent to Bills. The Republican extremists ardently desire the abolition of both these provisions of the Constitution. An opportunity for making serious trouble is here offered to them in advance, and (as it seems) quite wantonly, for if fifty thousand electors are desirous that a particular measure should be introduced into Parliament, it is not doubtful that members of the Chamber could be found who would take charge of it. To give the power of initiative to the electors, without the consent of Parliament, is to impair the dignity of Parliament, and is not consistent with the principles of representative government, as they have been generally understood.

The adoption, in the Constitution, of adult suffrage, by which every man or woman over twenty-one years of age has a vote for candidates for the Chamber, is an innovation which may have disastrous consequences. Cardinal Logue, in a recent pronouncement, spoke gravely and sternly of 'the school boys and school girls' who were intimidating peaceable citizens with revolvers. And all impartial observers are agreed that among the most dangerous people in Ireland are the wild, hysterical girls who encourage violence as the road to 'freedom.' The framers of the Irish Constitution have taken a great risk in recommending adult suffrage; but that is not a matter in which this country has any longer a right to intervene.

The franchise for the Senate is better, as only those over thirty years of age can vote; we wish that some property qualification had been introduced as well, but probably that would not be accepted in Ireland to-day. There are to be sixty senators in all, of whom four are to be elected by the University of Dublin and the National University, two for each. This is the only trace of special or functional representation in the new Irish Parliament, and the Universities will form their electoral registers as before. The remaining fifty-six senators are

to be elected from a panel consisting, on each occasion, of three times as many names as there are vacancies, all persons nominated having special qualifications as eminent public servants or 'as representing important aspects of the nation's life.' The whole of the Irish Free State forms the electoral area for senatorial elections, and the voting will be by the method of proportional representation (the method adopted in the Constitution for all Parliamentary elections), which may give the minority the power of electing a few members of the Upper House.

The panel for senatorial elections will be submitted by Parliament to the electors, the Chamber nominating twice as many as the Senate on the occasion of elections, which will be held every four years. This seems to reduce the independence of the Senate, and to make it too greatly a creature of the Chamber; but, in a provision of this kind, everything depends on the spirit in which the letter of the law is interpreted. If the Chamber desire, and the electors desire, to have a strong Senate, representative of all interests in the country—the landed gentry, the learned professions, bankers, and merchants—there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent it. But, on the other hand, there is no security that a Senate popularly elected will fully represent the stable elements in Irish life, or that the old prejudices as to landlords and Protestants may not prevail so as to exclude from Parliament some of the wisest men in Ireland.

In the Parliament of Northern Ireland, as constituted by the Act of 1920, the senators are actually elected by the Lower House, an arrangement which has had the effect of excluding the Roman Catholic minority from any influence in regard to legislation. One of the main objects of an Upper House is to protect the interests of the minority, and this object is not attained where membership of the Upper House is dependent, in whole or in part, upon the goodwill of the Lower House, which represents the majority of the electorate. There is a useful provision appended to the Constitution of the Irish Free State (§ 78), by which the *first* Senate (upon whose example so much will depend) shall be nominated, as to half its members, by the Prime Minister, 'who shall in making such nominations have special regard to the

providing of representation for groups or parties not then adequately represented in the Chamber.' If these nominations are wisely made, a precedent will be set which may be of great service in the future. It is not only the interests of the minority, but the dignity of Parliament that will be supported by the selection of the best men for the initiation of this great and novel experiment in state-building.

The powers of the Senate are but small. The Senate may initiate or delay legislation, but it has no final power of rejecting a Bill approved by the Lower House. Its powers in the matter of delay will be much less than those enjoyed by the British House of Lords under the Parliament Act, for the Senate cannot hold up a Bill for more than a year. It can, indeed, by a vote of three-fifths of its members submit a Bill which it does not favour to a referendum of the electorate; but this is not a power which is likely to be often exercised or which would be very effective. There is a provision for a Joint Session of both Houses of Parliament, but not for any Joint Vote. The representatives of the Southern Irish loyalists who were consulted (in accordance with a pledge given last December by Mr Griffith) as to the constitution and powers of the Senate, wrote on June 14 to Mr Churchill that they were 'not satisfied that any Senate constituted as proposed by popular election and with powers so strictly limited can afford a genuine protection to minorities in Ireland.' With that opinion most people will agree; but it has always to be borne in mind that all depends on the spirit in which the Constitution is interpreted in Ireland. If there is a genuine desire to enlist in the public service of the country men of high position and of proved capacity for dealing with great affairs, the Constitution makes it easy to do so. If, on the other hand, the majority of the people desire to keep all political power and every executive office in the hands of inexperienced persons whose chief title to recognition is that they have been in prison for rebellion against the King, then this also can be done. Great Britain cannot help here. Ireland must work out her own political destiny, now that she has assumed responsibility.

The result of the elections held on June 16 was that the party of Mr Griffith and Mr Collins secured a hand-

some majority. Of the Coalition candidates, 58 'Pro-Treaty,' as against 36 'Anti-Treaty,' have seats. Labour has 17 members, there are 7 farmers' representatives, while six label themselves 'Independent.' The four members for Dublin University are loyalists, but will support the Treaty, *faute de mieux*. The new factor is the presence of Labour members. A dangerous and anarchic manifesto was issued in their name before the elections, calling upon the people to pay no rent, and demanding the nationalisation of the railways. On the other hand, the Labour men are against militarism and disavow the tyrannical methods of the Irish Republican Army. They will probably support the 'Treaty'; but their support may be bought too dearly, if the Government condone the anarchic outrages that are being committed in the South of Ireland, avowedly in the interests of Labour.

It thus appears that the future is still (June 24) dark and obscure. First, it is not certain that the Republican party in Ireland will accept the Constitution as now formulated, and so it is not certain that it will pass the Irish Parliament, although a large majority of 'Pro-Treaty' members have been returned. If it is accepted by that Parliament, will the 'mutineers' of the Army acquiesce? If they do not acquiesce, are Mr Griffith and Mr Collins strong enough to prevent them from creating disorder? Is Mr Collins willing, in the interests of the Constitution and of peace, to employ force against his former associates? We do not know the answer to these questions, as we do not know whether Mr Griffith and Mr Collins propose to accept the Constitution as final (for their time at least), or whether they regard the establishment of the Irish Free State as only a stage on the way to an Irish Republic. Mr Collins has hinted more than once that he has only accepted the former because he could not get the latter; but whether he is prepared to fight to maintain the former in opposition to the fanatical idealists who demand the latter remains to be seen. It is, perhaps, significant that the motto at the head of every copy of 'The Free State,' which supports the Treaty, is a sentence of Mr Griffith to the effect that 'this is no more a final settlement, than this is the final generation.' There is

no finality in human affairs, and the sentence may be quite innocuous. But we fear that it suggests, in its context, that those who accept the Treaty and the Constitution founded upon it need not, therefore, abandon the struggle for a Republic. And if this interpretation prevail, we may look for many weary years of disturbance before Ireland sets herself to put in order her domestic affairs.

The moment of destiny is *now*. If the Irish leaders can bring themselves to the point of enforcing law and order, no matter who are the guilty parties that have to be punished, and of treating rebellion against the Irish Free State as treason, they will have the great mass of their countrymen behind them. But if they falter, or hesitate, in this primary business of government, they will not only forfeit their position and their authority, but they will betray the country which they profess to serve. No excuse will avail any longer—neither Ulster intolerance nor British intervention. What have these things to do with the Irish Free State? Ireland is not free now; but that is because of the menace of armed assassins and incendiaries. It cannot be free until the authorities of the State remove this menace. It cannot be prosperous until credit is restored and the Irish people are required to pay their debts, including their arrears of rent. Great Britain may be trusted to carry to completion the Land Purchase Acts, if the Irish Government heartily and impartially co-operates. And Ireland cannot take her proper place in the comity of nations until she learns to distinguish between the things that are only of sentimental and those that are of vital concern. It matters very little whether she paints her letter-boxes green or red; it matters very little whether she pretends that Irish is the vernacular of the country or not; but it matters very greatly that she shall lay the foundations of her new state upon justice and industry and honour. Irish political leaders no longer pay much attention to the moral admonitions of the Church to which most of them belong; but they are now appealing to a wider Court. It is by their actions and not by their words that they will be judged in future by the civilised world, and from that judgment there is no appeal. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

